

The WARS of the Jews

With the most deplorable

HISTORY

X

OF THE

04516.02

SIEGE and DESTRUCTION

OF THE

CITY of JERUSALEM.

AND

The burning of the TEMPLE therein by the Romans, under the command of Titus Vespasian, the Roman Emperor.

Also an account of the fearful presages and strange apparitions that were seen in the air, before the ruin thereof.

IN TWO BOOKS.

Epitomiz'd from the works of Flavius Josephus, translated into English by Sir Roger L'Estrange, Knight.

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THE
P R E F A C E
TO THE
R E A D E R.

THAT the Jews were a great and warlike nation, can be doubted by none that believe the sacred records, where we find that Joshua, upon his entrance into the land of Canaan, subdu'd and conquer'd two and thirty kings: and yet their enemies were so formidable, that those who were sent to spy out the land, thought it was impossible to overcome them, for among them were the sons of Anak, who were men of a giant-like strength and stature. And though it be true, that the unbelief of those spies magnified the power and strength of their enemies, yet certain it is, that the Canaanitish nations had giants among them; which yet the Jews but little valued, as appears by David's encountering with, and killing of Goliath. Nor need we wonder at the warlike temper of the Jews, when we consider, that though the land of Canaan was given to them by the promise of God made to their fathers, yet they were forced to fight for every inch of it; which must needs inure them to martial discipline: and either the Moabites, Edomites, Philistines, Midianites or Ammonites, with whom they had constant bickerings, gave them occasion to be still handling their arms. And in all other battles, unless their sins fought against them more than their foes, they still came off conquerors. For it must be granted, that in all their conflicts with their adversaries, recorded in the holy scriptures, it was because the Lord was on their side, that they were still victorious. And when ever he, who was their strength, departed from them, they fell before their enemies.

But after they with wicked hands had crucified and slain the Lord of Glory, and so had brought wrath upon them-

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selves unto the uttermost, never was their any people that received so fatal and total a destruction, as they did; nor yet that fought against the Romans more obstinately, or that did them greater mischief; so that I may with good grounds affirm, that of all the wars that were ever seen or heard of, that of the Jews with the Romans, was certainly the most considerable: and therefore it was that the learned and warlike Josephus, who was himself a spectator of these things, and a faithful witness of the truth thereof, undertook the writing of it with his own hand, which he tells us he thought himself obliged to do, as well because some pretending to write this history, have took up their materials upon trust and hearsay, without any knowledge at all of the things about which they wrote: as because others, though they knew the things, yet being enemies to the nation, have out of mere spite and malice, disguised the evident truth with partial reports and false glosses, more like orators than historians; in favour of the one side or the other, and not as the things truly were; having no regard to that veracity, which is the chief ornament of a historian, and which above all should give a reputation to his work.

This work (which I have thus epitomiz'd from that great master of the English tongue, Sir Roger L'Estrange, knight, for publick benefit) our Author was the better enabled to undertake, because having first bore arms among his countrymen the Jews, against the Romans, yet he found himself afterwards under some sort of necessity to change his side, and to enter into the Roman service, the occasion of which the reader will find in the process of this history.

Now that which made this war the more bloody and terrible on the Jews part, was the time of its breaking out, which was when the Romans were all embroiled among themselves, and the Jews strong, rich, and seditious, and neither wanted men, money, nor good-will to improve such an opportunity; which considerations inflamed them into so desperate a tumult, that they were not without flattering hopes of carrying all before them; nay they struck whole nations

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nations in the East, with strange apprehensions of being totally over-run; for even the Jews beyond Euphrates, as well as the rest, were all in a confederacy to rise as one man. Which, by a Christian reader can be looked upon as no other than a divine infatuation, that thereby heaven, might bring upon them that vengeance which they had so justly merited for their sins; especially when they had filled up the measure of their iniquities by their barbarous crucifixion of the Lord of Glory. The guilt whereof (though they refuse to own it) pursues them to this very day; so that, though they were once the peculiar people of God, they are now a curse and an execration in all the kingdoms of the world; there being now no country which they can call their own.

As to this history, the reader will find it begins with those transactions that happened before the time of Josephus, and of which, for that reason, as himself tells us, he speaks but sparingly; but as to those things that happened in his own time, he is more large and copious, giving a very succinct and compleat account of the original of these wars of the Jews, and of the progress thereof; and of those matters that contributed to the bringing things to the last extremity.

The siege of Jerusalem is also here at large described; than which there never was a more remarkable siege in the world, as there never was a more glorious city than Jerusalem; the temple therein being justly esteemed the chief wonder of the world; the glory thereof being the admiration and amazement of the Romans: who, upon that account would fain have saved it from the devouring flames; but there was a divine Nemesis that attended that execrable banditti; which made them, that were the greatest enemies of our blessed Saviour, the instruments of making good and fulfilling his prophecy about the destruction of their temple, by setting fire to it with their own hand.

Here, reader, thou wilt also find a faithful account of the calamities and sufferings of the Jews during the time of

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the siege of Jerusalem; and the variety of afflictions they laboured under, one while by war, another while by sedition, and then again by famine: and all those they underwent to that extremity, that 'tis hard to say by which they suffered most: and yet their obstinacy against the Romans under all this, was unexpressible; which was a great occasion of the destruction of fugitives, and of the torments inflicted on those that were taken; all which is in the process of our history faithfully related.

To conclude, I know no history more full of strange and admirable events, nor wherein the just judgment of God upon a nation devoted to ruin and destruction, are set forth in more vivid and lively colours. God grant that our nations may avoid their sins, that so we also may avoid their judgments.

*Let Jewry Britain's warner be,
Let Jebus London teach,
That we God's wrath may fear and see,
Whilst Jews to Britains preach.*

James Scuntus his
Book

THE

The WARS of the JEWS:

THE FIRST BOOK.

Containing the history of the Jews, from the time of the Maccabees to the siege of Jerusalem, by Titus Vespasian.

HAVING undertaken to write the history of the wars of the Jews, I thought I could not begin at a more proper Epocha than the time when the valiant Mathias of the Asmonean race, the father of the Maccabees, appeared for his country, to deliver the enslaved Jews from the intolerable thralldom, and enforced idolatry of Antiochus Epiphanes: for this Antiochus having made an advantageous inroad into Egypt, designing to reduce both the king and kingdom, he was by the peremptory command of the Romans forced to withdraw his army from thence; and not only so, but to quit what he had taken. And being frighted away from Egypt, he made no more ado but marched with his army outright to Jerusalem, and made himself master of it without any kind of difficulty; for the gates were set open to him by the treachery of a party he had made within the town; where being enter'd, he exercised great cruelty, and put many people to the sword, without distinguishing friend from foe; whereby some that had helped to betray the city, met with the just reward of their own treason; and having pillaged the city convey'd the treasure away to Antioch: the spoil of the temple was of a very great value, it being wholly stripp'd and rifl'd, all the holy vessels and utensils being taken away, the golden candlesticks, the golden altar, and the table of shew-bread amongst the rest: and further, to consummate the misery of this people, their daily sacrifices were forbidden, the city levell'd with the ground, and the inhabitants partly kill'd, and partly carried away captive; together with their wives and children, to the number of ten thousand; their walls were demolished, their stately edifices consumed by fire. They erected a tower in the city that commanded the temple; and when they had supply'd and fortify'd the place, a great garrison of Macedonians was put into it; but not without a mixture of execrable and apostate Jews, that were more malicious than the worst of their enemies. They raised

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raised an altar in the temple, and sacrificed hogs upon it, in the most spiteful contradiction to the laws of the Jews; and which was yet more malicious, they put all people to extremities that would not renounce the true God, and worship their idols. And both there, and in all other cities and towns, they built temples and altars for the daily sacrifice of swine's flesh; making it highly penal for any of the Jews, to circumcise their children. By these severities many of the Jews were prevail'd with to comply with the king's orders; tho' others were so truly brave and generous as to stand firm against all trials, torments, and even death itself, rather than depart from the religion and laws of their country; having their bodies cut and torn with whips; and then crucified alive, and their wives, and so many of their children as were circumcised, hanging about their necks, according to the king's order. The holy scriptures also were destroy'd, where-ever they were found; and 'twas made death but so much as to entertain them.

In this deplorable condition it was, that the Jews were in, when Antiochus Epiphanes had made the daily sacrifice to cease, and set up the abomination of desolation in the temple of Jerusalem, as the prophet Daniel had long before foretold.

At this time there lived in a village called Modin, belonging to Judea, a priest whose name was Mathias, a priest of the family of Joarib, but born in Jerusalem: this Mathias was the son of Josia, the son of Simon, and Simon the son of Asmoneas. Mathias, had five sons, Joannan, who was surnamed Gaddas; Simon, otherwife Thassi; Judas, who was also called Maccabeus; Eleazar, alias Auran; and Jonathan, surnamed Apphus. Thus Mathias would be ever now and then condoling with his children upon the deplorable state their nation was reduced to; their city desolate, their temple pillag'd and profan'd, with a thousand other calamities; and he would be often telling them how much more glorious it would be to fall a sacrifice to the laws and religion of their country, than to linger out a miserable life at so servile a rate.

Upon the coming of the king's officers into Modin, the village where he dwelt, to press the execution of their master's orders, they began with Mathias, as a person of authority, and one whose example might draw in all the rest: laying before him the danger of his disobedience, and the advantage of his complying; and therefore charged him in the king's name to worship as he was commanded: which he generously refused to do, but told them, That if every soul within their master's dominions would yield to him in that particular, he would never either submit to him himself, nor advise any of his sons to abandon the worship of God. Mathias had no sooner uttered these words, but out steps a Jew, to sacrifice according to the king's way; but Mathias and his sons were so enflam'd thereat, that in an heroic

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fury, they not only killed the Jew, but the king's officer also, with all his guard about him, as they were forcing the people to that abominable worship. In this heat they over-turn'd the altar also, Mathias calling thus to the people about him, As many of you as have any regard for your honour, or for your religion, follow me. And so the father and his sons withdrew themselves immediately into the wilderness, leaving their goods and estates behind 'em. This generous example soon after caused a great part of the rest of the people, with their wives and children, to fly into the same desert, where they made a shift to live some time in caves.

When this came to the ear of the king's general officers, they drew the garrison out of the castle of Jerusalem, and marched after the Jews into the wilderness; trying them first by good counsel, and advising them to take more sober measures, without forcing the soldiers upon the necessity of a military execution. But this not taking effect, they pitched upon the sabbath-day for an attack upon them, burning and destroying them in their holes, without any resistance; and without so much as stopping the mouths of their caves; for such was the reverence they had for the sacredness of that day, being commanded in the law to keep it holy, that they chose rather to perish than prophane it. The number of those that were thus suffocated, amounted to near a thousand: but there were great numbers that made their escapes, and list'd themselves under the command of Mathias, who, upon this experiment, preached another doctrine to them; telling them, That in case of such an extremity, they might lawfully fight and defend themselves on the sabbath, as well as on another day; for otherwise that scruple would be their total destruction: for their enemies taking advantage of their superstition, would be sure still to attack them at a time when they were certain they should meet with no resistance. The reason of this discourse was so clear, they were all convinced of the lawfulness of using their arms upon the sabbath, in case of necessity; and the practice of it continued with them ever after.

This great general was now in a little time master of a considerable force; insomuch that he destroyed all their idolatrous altars, and put all the apostates to the sword, where-ever he could come at them; appointing children to be circumcis'd, which had before been forbidden; and driving away the king's officers that were appointed to hinder it; having drawn all the Jews into a body, that had dispersed themselves up and down into privacies and hiding places, for fear of the enemy.

Mathias, having been a full year in this command, felt himself seized with a mortal illness; and therefore calling his sons about him, spake to them to this effect: my dear sons, my life is drawing to an end; but I am now to charge you upon my

bleſſing, before I leave you, to ſtand firmly to the cauſe that your father has aſſerted before you, without any ſtaggering or ſhrinking. Remember what I have told you, and do as I have advis'd you. Do your utmoſt to ſupport the laws and rights of your country, and to reſtore the order of a nation that wants but very little of being ſwallowed up in confuſion. Have nothing to do with thoſe, that either for fear, or for intereſt have betray'd it. Shew yourſelves to be ſons worthy of ſuch a father; and, in contempt of all force and extremity, carry your lives in your hands, and deliver them up with comfort, if any occaſion ſhould require it, in defence of your country; computing with yourſelves, that this is the way to preſerve you in God's favour; and that in conſideration of ſo unſhaken a virtue, he will in time reſtore you to the liberty of your former life and manners. Our bodies, 'tis true, are mortal; but great and generous actions will make us immortal in our memory; and that's the glory I'd have you aſpire to: that is, the glory of making the hiſtory of your lives famous to aſter ages by your illuſtrious actions. Be ſure, in the firſt place, to agree among yourſelves, and in what caſe ſoever any of you have an advantage over the reſt, give way to every man in the buſineſs of his province and talent. As for example, it being Simon's faculty to make a right judgment of things, I ſhall adviſe you to make him your council; Maccabeus is a man made for military conduct and bravery, therefore chuſe him for your general, as the beſt qualified for the vindicating of your friends, and for the cruſhing of your enemies. Do but mind your buſineſs, and you may depend upon it, that all men of honour and piety will join with you.

Mathias concluded this pathetic diſcourſe to his ſons, with prayers to God for a bleſſing upon their endeavours towards the redemption of their countrymen, and the recovery of their ancient rights and privileges.

Mathias ſoon departed this life, and was buried at Mœdin, and the publick adminiſtration was put into the hands of Judas Maccabeus, who was ſo well ſeconded by his brothers, that he cleared the country of the enemy, put all the renegadoes to the ſword, and purged the land from all the abominable pollutions that had been practiſed there.

The news of this new turn of affairs upon the progreſs of Judas, brought Apollonius the governor of Samaria in all haſte up with his army againſt Judas, who without any loſs of time met with him half way, fought and routed him; killed a great many men upon the place, and Apollonius himſelf for one, diſarming him with his own hand, and carrying off his ſword in triumph. He had alſo the ſpoil of the camp which was a booty of a prodigious value.

The news of this total rout, and of the vaſt reinforcements that

that came crouding to Judas upon the success, made Seron, the governor of Celo Syria, think 'twas high time to look about him: so that he took up a resolution immediately to pull it to a battle; in order to which, he took his march to Bethoran, a village of Judea, where he pitched his camp. Judas hereupon put himself into a posture to encounter him. But finding his foldiers either out of heart or out of humour, he made a short harangue, to bring them to their mettle: fellow soldiers, said he, it is not the arm of flesh, but God, that gives the victory; not multitudes of men, but trust and confidence in the Almighty. This is no more than we have found many and many a time experimentally true, in the history of our ancestors; who with an inconsiderable number of men, in a righteous cause, (that is to say, in the defence of their religion, laws, liberties, wives and children) have put many thousands to flight. Great is truth, in short, and the force of innocence is invincible. With these words he led on his men to battle, where they behaved themselves like heroes; engaged Seron, and kill'd him upon the spot; defeating the whole army of the Assyrians; for upon the fall of their general, their troops were broken and scattered, and every man made the best of his way, and shifted as well as he could for himself. Judas pursued them as far as the plain, having kill'd eight hundred on the field of battle, the rest making their escape towards the sea-side.

Antiochus, upon the knowledge of these disasters, got a mighty army together in a short time, with a resolution to break into Judea with it early the next spring. But finding money fall short, and that the income of his revenue would not answer the charge of the war, he propos'd rather to go into Persia first, to supply himself with what money he could pick up out of that province, leaving an army, under Lysias one of his lieutenants, charging him to redeem Judea, and upon the reduction thereof, to sell all the inhabitants for slaves, and utterly to destroy the city, and extirpate the whole nation.

Lysias took to his assistance, for the execution of this commission, Ptolemy, Georgias, and Nicanor, three of the best officers he could find, putting them at the head of forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse, with orders to march forthwith into Judea; who advanced as far as Emmaus, and there encamped upon the plain, where came over to them great numbers of auxiliaries from Syria, and other neighbouring countries, with an abundance of fugitive Jews; besides several merchants and traders, with a great deal of money to buy slaves, who also had brought fetters and manacles with them to secure their prisoners. The enemy indeed had got a formidable army, but Judas however bid them cast themselves upon providence, and fear nothing; and so they humbled themselves in sackcloth, fasting and praying, as was usual in imminent danger, implor-

ing the divine favour and protection. Judas his next business was to range his men by regiments, troops, and companies, in order of battle, according to the Jewish custom, and then to discharge the army of all new married men, and such as had lately made purchases, who might probably be thinking of something else when they should be a fighting, and the care of their particular interest divert them from the service of the publick; animating his people at the same time by his words as well as his actions, and to acquit themselves like men of honour and courage.

Whilst Judas was thus busied in ordering his matters, and encouraging his men, he received intelligence from a sure hand, that Georgias would be with him that night with a thousand horse and five thousand foot, with some renegado Jews for their guide, to surprize him, and beat up his quarters. This discovery put Judas upon a design of countermining him; which was at the same time to make an attempt upon the camp of the enemy, taking the opportunity of their being so divided. In order to this, he called presently for supper, caused several fires to be made in his camp, and so marched all night towards Emmaus, where the enemy lay. Georgias in the mean time finding no body left in the Jews camp, and presuming that they were run away for fear, to hide themselves in the mountains, reckoned that he had little more to do than to learn how he might hunt them out. But Judas coming by break of day to the enemy's camp with only three thousand men, and those ill armed too, and finding the other party accoutered at all points, and their camp in very good order, he told his people, that they should not fear to attack them, even if they were all naked, so long as they were certain of God's favour and protection. And with these words, ordered the sound of the charge, and breaking in upon them at the same instant, put them into such a fright at the surprize, that after putting them to the sword that resisted, the rest betook themselves to flight, and they had the pursuit of them as far as Gadara, and so to the plains of Idumea, Azotas, and Jamnia. The number of the slain was about three thousand. But Judas would not suffer his people to meddle with the spoil, the troops of Georgias being yet in sight; but upon the routing him, they might take the booty at leisure. While Judas was thus speaking to his men, Georgias's people discovering from an eminence near hand, the dead bodies of his friends, the havock that had been made in their tents, and their camp all in a smoke; they took it for granted, that Judas's men were still in a body to attack them, so that they fled immediately upon it, and dispersed themselves several ways, each man consulting his own safety. The victory being thus gain'd without a blow, Judas turned his men loose to the pillage of the field; where they found gold and silver, glorious habits

habits of purple and scarlet, and other rich booty in abundance; which they carried off safe, triumphing, singing, and giving thanks to God, the blessed author of that victory, as they marched, which proved both an earnest, and a foundation of their future freedom.

Lyfias was so sensible of the shame and wound of this disgrace, that to redeem his credit, he brought into the field the year following an army of sixty thousand foot, and twenty five thousand horse, all try'd and choice men, and with this body he entered into Judea by the way of the mountains, encamping at a place called Bethsera. Judas was not at all discouraged at the odds of his numbers, but marched directly up to him with a party only of ten thousand men, for his trust was in God alone: so that after a short and fervent prayer for a blessing upon his army, he charged his enemy so home, that upon the first shock he forced their line, and cut them off five thousand men upon the place. This unexpected charge put all their whole army into such a confusion, that Lyfias finding them obstinately determined, either to live or dye free, thought it his best course to withdraw his troops before the consternation was gone too far, out of an apprehension not so much of their strength as of their despair. So that Lyfias returned to Antioch, where he posted himself, by the help of mercenaries and other additional enforcements, to be ready for the first opportunity of a revenge against the Jews.

Judas was so flushed with these repeated successes against the forces of Antiochus, that he prevailed upon the Jews, in confidence that after so many victories God would not now forsake them, to march without any more delay to Jerusalem itself, and there to purge the temple, and offer up the daily sacrifices. But when they came thither, and found the temple abandoned, the gates all burnt, and the courts over-run with weeds, Judas and his people could not but shed tears to see the dismal solitude and deformity of the place. The two great works that he entered upon, were the assault of the citadel, and the cleansing of the temple. The former he committed to his officers and soldiers, and the care of the other he took upon himself. So soon as he had gone through the purging of it in form, he provided new vessels and utensils, a candlestick, a table, and an altar of incense, all of pure gold. And in short, he set all things in order, according to the law of Moses, and upon the twenty fifth of the month Cassar, they set lighted tapers in the candle-sticks, offered incense upon the altar, and laid the shew-bread upon the table, and so went on to their oblations of burnt-offerings. And this fell out precisely upon the same day three years from the prophanation of the temple and religion by Antiochus.

The celebration of this festivity was continued by Judas for eight days, with all the solemnity of sacrifices and rejoicing; making

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making even the air to ring with hymns of acclamation, praise and thanksgiving. Nor was Judas in the mean time wanting to serve his country, for he rebuilt the wall of the city, and fortified them with strong towers to keep off an enemy: setting a garrison in Bethsura, and putting the place into a posture of defence.

The neighbouring nations were so irritated at the growing power and confidence of the Jews, that they set their instruments at work by fraud and treachery to circumvent them, destroying many of them at unawares; Judas in the mean time using the best means he could either to prevent or disappoint their incursions: he fell at this time upon Acrabatan, killing great numbers of the Edomites, the posterity of Esau, making himself master also of a great booty. He block'd up the sons of Bean also, their chief, in the strong places they were possessed of, and where they lay in wait to make sallies upon the Jews, taking the places by assault, killing the defendants, and laying the same in ashes. After the subduing of these people, he carried his arms against the Ammonites, who had at that time a numerous army under the command of Timotheus. He fought with these also and overcame them, and then he took the city of Jazar, carry'd away their wives and children captives, and after the pillaging of the city, set it on fire, and so went home again victorious. But he was no sooner gone, but the people thereabouts taking advantage of his departure, and gathering together at Gilead, made an attempt upon the Jews that lay upon that quarter; who being forc'd to take sanctuary in the fortrefs of Dathuna, gave intimation to Judas, both by word of mouth and letter, that Timotheus had a design to attack them, and so prayed him earnestly for relief. And in the very instant whilst Judas was reading his intelligence, came in several messengers from Galilee, with remonstrances and complaints that the people of Ptolemais, Tyre, and Sydon, and other bordering nations, were all join'd in confederacy against them.

Judas, that had an eye upon the necessity of his friends in both places, sent his brother Simon with three hundred choice men to the succour of the Jews in Galilee; and with eight thousand men more marched with his other brother Jonathan to Gilead, leaving the rest of his army under the command of Joseph the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, as his lieutenant generals, for the guard of Jerusalem, with orders to keep off from fighting till his return. Simon, upon his arrival at Galilee, engaged the enemy and defeated them, giving them chase to the very gates of Ptolemais, and killing about three thousand in the pursuit. They stript them of what they had, and redeemed the prisoners with what goods they had taken, and so conducted them back to Jerusalem.

At the same time Judas and his brother Jonathan after three days march beyond Jordan into the wilderness, were amicably received by the Nebuchites who very kindly gave them intelligence of the extream distress and danger of diverse of their friends and country-men, who were close shut up in the towns and castles of Gilead; advising them withal, that they would make what haste they could to carry them relief. In this expedition they took the city of Barasa by the way, putting all the people to the sword that were able to bear arms, and burning the city to the ground. It was now towards night, but Judas still prosecuted his way to the castle, wherein he understood the Jews were besieged; and coming thither betimes in the morning, he found the enemy hard at work with their machines and scaling-ladders to force the place, whereupon he distributed his troops into three divisions, animating his men to behave themselves resolutely for the relief of their country men and friends; and so upon the sound of the trumpet charged the enemy in the rear. So soon as Timotheus understood that Judas Maccabeus had the command of the action, a person whose valour and conduct he knew so much before-hand by woeful experience, his men took such a fright at the very name, that they fled immediately upon hearing of it. Eight thousand of them fell upon the place, the Jews upon the rout followed them at the heels. Judas, upon the pursuit, took a town of the Barbarians, called Mallam, where they put all the males to death, and destroyed the city by fire. They did the same thing also at Cusphon and Bezor, and other places that they took in that country.

In a little time after this, Timotheus, not contented with what he had received before, got a mighty body of an army together, and among other auxiliaries, he had a band of Arabians: they cross'd the river, and encamped near Raphan, where he encouraged his people to acquit themselves like men, and to be sure to keep the Jews from passing the river; for the whole cause, he told them, depended upon it, and that if ever they gain'd that pass, they would carry the day. When Judas understood that Timotheus was resolved upon, and prepared to give him battle, he pass'd the river immediately with his army, and gave the onset, and put the army to the rout upon the first encounter, killing those that resisted, and scattering the rest; who casting away their arms, and some running one way, and some another, part of them betook themselves for sanctuary to the temple of Carnaim, in hopes that the place might protect them; but Judas took the town by force, burnt the temple, and destroy'd all the inhabitants by fire and sword.

This difficulty being over, he gathered together all the Israelites that were in the country of Gilead, with their wives, children

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children and goods, and carried them all into Judea. The city of Ephron lay so directly in his way, that there was no avoiding it without going a great way about: so that he sent a fair message to the inhabitants for leave to pass with his army through the town; but the ports being barricado'd, and the avenues cut off, the inhabitants in plain terms deny'd him any passage that way. Upon this repulse, he put his men in heart and posture for the attack of the town; begirt it immediately, and in one day and night made himself master of it; and laid it in ashes, and marched with his army over the bodies of the dead through the ruins of it, putting all the males that were found in it to the sword. After passing the river Jordan, they advanced to a great plain near Bethtan, call'd by the Greeks Scythopolis; and from thence returned to Judea; the people rejoicing all the way they went, with hymns and triumphal songs, and offering sacrifices of thanksgiving for the safety of his army; for, (which is very wonderful) he had not lost so much as one Jew in all these rencounters.

But it far d not so well with the army at Jerusalem; for Joseph the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, two great captains, being left as a guard to Judea, in the absence of Simon, who was now marched into Galilee, against the people of Ptolemais; and Judas with his brother Jonathan against the Gileadites; these commanders reckoned upon it as a point of honour to signalize themselves by some glorious adventure; in this fit of emulation, to Jamnia they went, where, Georgias the governor of the place gave them a fair battle before the town, killed about two thousand of them, and pursued the rest to the borders of Judea. This overthrow was but just upon them, for not obeying the order of the general, who had positively commanded them not to engage the enemy upon any terms, till his return. This caution was much to the reputation of the providence and foresight of Judas, who very well understood that if they departed from their instructions they would suffer for it.

But notwithstanding this defect, Judas and his brethren carried on the war all this while vigorously against the Edomites, pressing them on all hands: as they took Hebron by force, demolished the fortifications of it, and burnt the towers and castles down to the ground; laid the enemies country all waste; demolished Marissa, and from thence in the same heat over-ran and pillaged Azotus: and in this glut of booty and victory, they returned all safe and triumphant to Jerusalem.

While these things were transacting by Judas Maccabeus, Antiochus Epiphanes, being in his progress thro' some of the upland provinces, he was informed of a mighty rich city in Persia, call'd Elymais, and of a most magnificent temple in it, dedicated to Diana, where were deposited precious donatives of all sorts, with the very shields and breast-plates of Alexander

der, the son of Philip of Macedon. Antiochus was so moved with the fame of these splendid curiosities, that he advanced towards it with his army to take it by assault. But the inhabitants, without any regard either to his power or to his design, made a very brave resistance, and disappointed him of his expectation; they thought it not enough to beat him from the walls, but they followed him so close upon his retreat, that they cut off a good part of his rear, and drove him before them, like a fugitive into Babylon. While the sense of this infamy and loss was fresh upon him, tidings were brought him of the defeat of his other troops, to which he had committed the care and conduct of the war against the Jews, and of the daily increase of their number and power: so that with one calamity upon the neck of another, the insupportable anguish of his thoughts made him heart sick upon it. And finding himself to grow worse and worse, and his end near at hand, he called his friends about him, told them both the cause and quality of his distemper: I am here justly punished, said he, for the sake of these miserable Jews, for the sacrilegious rifling and profaning of their temple, and for my contempt of the heavenly God: and with these words he died.

But before his death he sent for Philip, as the greatest and most trusty of his confidants, and committed the regency of the kingdom into his hands, delivering to him at the same time, the crown, the royal robes, and signet; with order to preserve them for his son Antiochus, who was then in his minority.

The death of this prince was no sooner made known to the people, but Lyfias declared Antiochus king, under the name of Eupater, having at that time, the tuition of the young prince.

The Macedonians in the mean time, who were then garrisoned in the citadel of Jerusalem, with some Jewish revolvers, made several vexatious sallies upon the Jews, as they went to worship at their temple; which was no hard matter to do, in regard that their castle was above, and commanded it. So that Judas found it of absolute necessity to reduce that fort for the common security of the nation: and gave order presently for the making and framing machines and engines for battery, and the casting up of works.

While this was in agitation, several deserters slip'd away by night, and joyning with others as bad as themselves, went to Antiochus, setting forth the miserable condition they were reduced to, by men of their own tribe, for their obedience to the king's command, in opposition to their own law; and that they were now imminent in danger of falling into the hands of Judas, without immediate relief.

The young prince, in a rage, gave orders presently to his friends and commanders to make a levy of what auxiliaries were to be had for money, over and above the uttermost force of
choice

choice friends, that they could raise out of his own subjects. They ply'd their business so hard, that in a short time they mustered up a hundred thousand foot, twenty thousand horse, and thirty two elephants: With this formidable body of an army, under the command of Lyfias, as general, the king marched out of Antioch, and so advanc'd to Idumea, and from thence to Bethsura, a place well fortified, besides the strength of the situation. This fort he assaulted, and lost a great deal of time before it: for betwixt sallies and stratagemis, they found a way to burn or disappoint all engines of battery and danger, that were brought against it.

Judas, being informed of the approach of Antiochus, raised the siege from before the citadel, and marched the ready way to meet the enemy, pitching his tents upon the very entrance into the streights of Beth-Zacharia, about seventy furlongs from the adversary. Antiochus upon this quitted the Bethsurites, and encamped within distance of engaging Judas, appointed his army by peep of day to put themselves upon their march in order of battle. But the place being too narrow for the elephants to march in front, they were forced into a defile with a thousand foot, and five hundred horse upon the guard of every elephant, and so to advance one after another, with a tower or castle upon their backs, charged with archers, while the rest of the troops mounted on the hills on both sides, under the command of such officers and friends that the king could confide in: from this ascent they gave the attack, with so horrid a shout and clamour, that the vallies all rang with the eccho, so that with the hideous out-cry, and the dazzling flashes of their gold and brazen bucklers, nothing could be more surprising. But this was all to Judas, no more than empty pomp and noise; for he received them so bravely, and without any sort of daunt or apprehension, that he killed about six hundred of them upon the first encounter. While they were thus engaged, Eleazar, otherwise called Auranes, the brother of Judas taking notice of one elephant that was caparisoned with richer trappings than the rest, made his way with a generous resolution thorow all the guards to that beast; taking for granted, that the king himself was upon her: when he had cut part of his opposers to pieces on each hand, and forced the rest to clear his passage, he crept under the belly of the elephant, and wounded him to death, himself also perishing under the weight of the beast, upon his fall. He had the honour and the comfort however to dye in the prospect and attempt of a glorious action, and encompass'd with the dead bodies of his enemies round about him.

Judas finding himself so exceedingly over-number'd, drew off the siege of the fortress at Jerusalem again, when Antiochus sent one part of his army to lie down before Bethsura, and with
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the remainder of it went to Jerusalem. The Bethsurites were so disanimatèd upon the appearance of these troops, and especially by their want of provisions, that they found themselves under a necessity of delivering up the place, which they did upon conditions, with solemn articles that there should be no violence or molestations offered them whatsoever. But Antiochus was no more a slave to his word than the present French tyrant; and therefore kept his faith no farther than the bare saving of their lives; for the inhabitants were all turned naked out of the town, and a garrison of his own settlèd in their stead.

But the siege of the temple held them in work yet a long time after, by a most obstinate defence: for all their machines and approaches were still eluded with counterworking and designs. Their only distress was want of bread, for having already spent their last year's store, and this happening to fall out upon the seventh year, when by the Jewish law they could neither plow nor sow; great numbers of the Jews slippt out of the town only for want of provision; insomuch that there were hardly hands enough left to defend the place.

At the very nick of time came intelligence to the king and his general Lysias, that Philip had usurp'd the government, and was marching toward them at the head of an army out of Persia: so that they came to a secret resolution betwixt themselves, to quit the siege, seek Philip out, and give him battle; but to carry the design so private, that neither officer nor soldier should so much as guess at it. Wherefore the king order'd Lysias (without mentioning the name of Philip) to enter into a discourse with the commanders and soldiers about the siege, the strength of the place, and that it would be a work of time to take it; besides, that being brought to a pinch now for want of corn, and the king's business requiring his presence elsewhere, they could not do better than to come to some sort of agreement with them, tho' upon the condition of allowing them the free exercise of their particular religion, laws and customs. And this being granted, which had been the only ground of all their rebellions, the king might go back again when he pleas'd, without any farther trouble. This Lysias having communicated to the army, the soldiers were highly pleasèd with the proposal.

Things being thus concertèd and agreed upon in the army, the king dispatchèd a herald away to Judas, and the besiegèd with an offer of peace; and a free enjoyment and exercise of their laws and consciences, which they very readily agreed to; and upon the security of oath and honour for the performance of articles, they deliver'd up the temple. But tho' Antiochus kept his articles better here than at Bethsura, yet upon his taking possession of it, he found it so very strong, that without any regard to his oath, and promise, he order'd his soldiers to demolish

demolish the walls, and lay them level with the ground; which was executed accordingly. After which, Antiochus went against Philip, who had usurped the crown, and overcoming him, took him prisoner, and ordered him to be put to death.

About this time, Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, being fled away from Rome, possess'd himself of Tripolis in Syria, and taking the crown upon him, with as many mercenaries as he could get together, invaded the country, the people coming over to him in whole shoals, and received him with open arms; and as a farther instance of their affection to him, they seized upon the persons of Antiochus and Lysias, and brought them prisoners to Demetrius, by whose command they were both immediately put to death.

Demetrius having in his party a great number of profligate Jews, that had been banished for notorious crimes, together with Alcimus the high-priest at the head of them; these came to Demetrius, and all joined in one common complaint against the whole people of the Jews, but more especially against Judas Maccabeus and his brethren, whom they charg'd with the destruction of as many of the king's friends as fell into their hands, and with the ejection of themselves out of the land too. Wherefore they requested Demetrius to send some particular persons he could confide in, to examine matters in Judea, and see what havock Judas had made there.

Demetrius in a great heat, sends away Bacchides upon this errand, putting Alcimus likewise into the same commission, whom he dispatch'd with an army, and orders to fall upon Judas and his followers. Bacchides with these troops march'd directly into Judea, where he gave Judas and his brethren a specious and solemn invitation to come to a better understanding with him, designing, under the colour of a peaceable and friendly disposition, to draw them into the toil, and then to surprize them: but Judas seeing him attended with such an army, and that he was rather in the posture of an enemy than a friend, kept himself on his guard, without giving any credit to his pretensions. But some that were not so cautious, going over to them, Bacchides soon let them feel the effects of their foolish credulity, cutting about sixty of them to pieces upon the place, contrary to his solemn oath before pass'd, that no violence should be offer'd either to themselves, or any of their party. This perfidy of his, however, serv'd for a warning to the rest not to come near him. And therefore commanding all the Jews to obey Alcimus, and leaving part of his army with him, for the security of the province, he return'd back to king Demetrius at Antioch.

In the mean time, Alcimus aiming to settle himself in the dignity of the high priesthood, which could not be done without the good will of the people, us'd all the popular arts of
humility

humility and address to ingratiate himself with the multitude ; and having by such wheedling ways doubled the number of his followers, he ravaged the country, and destroyed all he could get into his clutches that were friends to Judas ; who at last found himself obliged to take the same measures when he met the partizans of Alcimus ; who not being able to hold out against Judas, betook himself to Demetrius for support, inciting that prince against Judas all that he could, with feign'd and malicious stories. So that Judas, by that means, became such an eye sore to Demetrius, that he found himself very uneasy to think what would be the issue of things, seeing Judas every day grew more formidable, increasing in strength and reputation. And thereupon he sent Nicanor against him with a body of men which he judg'd capable of reducing him : with a positive order to make war upon the whole nation of the Jews, and to give no quarter.

Nicanor having receiv'd this commission, thought it to be easier to inveigle Judas to him by a shew of friendship, and so affect his ruin that way, than by downright blows ; which he pursu'd with so much seeming fairness, attesting his sincerity with such solemn oaths, that Judas and his brethren had like to have been entrap'd thereby ; but Nicanor giving the signal to take Judas too soon, he had thereby an opportunity to make his escape. The treachery being discovered, there was nothing but open force to be us'd on both sides ; which coming to a battle near Chaparzalama, Judas was worsted, and forced into the castle of Jerusalem. After which, Nicanor having in vain threatned the priests and elders of the Jews with the laying their temple in rubbish, if they did not deliver up Judas, he left Jerusalem, and pitch'd his tents in Betheron, where he was joined with a great reinforcement from Syria. Judas, with only a thousand men, was encamped at Aclasi, within thirty furlongs of the enemy : Judas encouraged his handful of men to trust to the arm of Omnipotence, which would certainly be on their side : exhorting them to fall on like valiant men, and commit the issue to God. They did so, and Nicanor himself being slain, the army immediately scattered, and threw away their arms, that nothing might impede their flight. Judas, losing no time in the pursuit, cut them down without mercy or quarter ; and making proclamations as he went along of the victory he had obtained, the people every where fell so bloodily upon them that fled, that of nine thousand men (which was the number of Nicanor's army) there were hardly one creature escaped. In memory of which signal victory the Jews ever afterwards kept an anniversary thanksgiving on the day on which it was obtained, which was upon the thirteenth day of Adnar, answering to our February.

And here it must not pass without notice, that Alcimus, the treacherous

treacherous high-priest, designing to have the old wall of the sanctuary pulled down, and the work of the antient prophets demolished, at the very instant of the ordering of it, was struck by a divine hand, with so judicial a stroke, that he fell down upon the ground speechless, where he lay languishing a while in miserable torments, and then died, after having been four years in the office of the pontificate, and his project died with him. The people unanimously chusing Maccabeus for his successor.

Judas Maccabeus being now high-priest, hearing of the fame, justice, and power of the Romans, and of the high conquests they had made, had a great mind to enter into a league with them; and therefore sent Epolemus the son of John, and Jafen the son of Eliazar, two very good friends of his to Rome, desiring to be admitted into the number of their allies; and that they would write to Demetrius not to be any longer troublesome to the Jews for the time to come. The Roman senate was so well pleased with the proposals, and the terms, that they consented to the league, and pass'd an order soon after in favour of it.

But notwithstanding this alliance with the Romans, upon the tidings of Nicanor's death, and the defeat of the army, Demetrius sent Bacchides a second time into Judea, who advanc'd with fresh troops to Arbela, a town of Galilee, and encamping there, forc'd a great many Jews out of the caves where they had hid themselves: and hearing that Judas and his people were at Bethzeth, he posted thither with all the speed he could, who had at that time but poor one thousand men in all; whereas Bacchides had twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to encounter him. This great inequality caused two hundred of Judas's men to slip from him, for fear of being over-powered; and yet Judas kept up his heart still, and fixed his resolution, maugre all, to put it upon the issue of a battle; desiring only that his men would stand by him, and follow his example. But they told him how vain a thing 'twould be to fight with such insuperable odds; advising him rather to attempt an honourable retreat, by which means he might, perhaps, reinforce himself: no, replied the heroick Judas, it shall never be said, that the sun ever saw Judas turn his back upon an enemy. If it should be our lot now to die, God's will be done, provided that we do not blast the reputation of a glorious life with an ignominious death. With these words he had raised the courage of his soldiers up to his own pitch, and fortified them for the ensuing combat. Bacchides, having ranged his army, sounded a charge, and, with a military shout, gave the onset; which Judas answer'd him in the same manner. The battle was hard fought on both sides, continuing from morning till towards sun-set. When Judas seeing the danger his men were in, by
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the enemy's right wing, commanded by Bacchides, and consisting of the very flower of his army, Judas press'd upon them, and came in with a band of hearty and courageous youths to their relief, and breaking their line, pierced into the body of them, routed and gave them chase as far as Aza. But Judas could not do every thing himself; and the enemy's left wing followed him so very close, that he was now beset on all hands, and cut off from all possibility of escaping: upon which he and all his people stood their ground, and fought it out, to sell their lives as dear as they could; till, in the conclusion, after a slaughter of their enemies, Judas and his companions were so spent and wearied out, that they seemed at last rather tired than overcome; nor did they fall unrevenge'd. And thus did this glorious Hero finish the last scene of his life, with a resolution suitable to the rest of his inimitable actions, by which he had acquired and left an immortal memory to all posterity, his life and death being all of a piece. There is no question, but that the loss of so brave a commander must be also the loss of the victory; for those that were left never stood to dispute it after he was fallen; for they presently dispers'd and fled. The two brothers, Simon and Jonathan, afterwards treated with the enemy for the body of their brother, which they buried at Modin, in the sepulchre of his father, (to whose virtues, as well as blood, he had shew'd himself so truly ally'd) with all funeral magnificence.

After the death of Judas, the condition of the Jews was very deplorable; and the apostate Jews made it their business to take up all that had been the friends and partizans of Judas, and to deliver them to Bacchides, who tortur'd them at pleasure; and, in the end, put every man of them to death.

This made all those that had wish'd well to Judas, join in a request to Jonathan, to follow his brother's example; who had sacrificed himself for the liberties of his country, and also to take upon him his command; the whole nation being under such desperate circumstances, that they must all perish without a leader. To which Jonathan reply'd, I am ready to do or to suffer any thing for the publick good. Upon which he was, by the unanimous consent of the people, chosen their governor and captain general. Which Bacchides was no sooner inform'd of, but he endeavour'd, by treachery, to take off both Jonathan and his brother Simon; but they were both so well aware thereof, that they provided for their safety, by withdrawing into a neighbouring desert, with what strength they were able to get together upon so short a warning.

Bacchides look'd upon their retreat into the wilderness as no other than a flight from him, and so march'd presently towards them with all his troops. Jonathan hereupon sent his brother John to the Arabian Nabathites (being in friendship with them)

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for leave only to deposite their baggage in their custody, till they should have engag'd Bacchides. But as John was upon the way, the sons of Amareus made a sally out of Madeba upon the convoy, kill'd John himself upon the place, and all his people, and took all their carriages, and whatever else they had about them. This added to the calamity of the two brothers; but it was now no time to shew their resentment.

Bacchides, understanding where Jonathan lay encamp'd, resolv'd to attack him on the sabbath-day, hoping to reap an advantage from the superstitious reverence they had for it: But Jonathan having made them sensible of the absolute necessity there was for fighting on that day, they made a signal charge upon the enemy, killing two thousand of them, and then securing themselves on the other side of Dan.

Soon after this, intelligence was brought to the two brothers, that there was a famous wedding in hand between one of the sons of Amareus and the daughter of an illustrious Arabian; that the sons of Amareus were to be at the wedding, and the bride to be conducted in a splendid pomp, from the city Gabatha. Jonathan and Simon laid hold on the opportunity to revenge themselves for the death of their brother John; and hastened away towards Medabah, to way-lay the people that were to assist at this wedding, by an ambush they had planted in the mountains. Upon the coming of the bridegroom and his bride, with a long train of their friends, as is usual in such cases, the party sallied out upon them, and cut them all off, bride and bridegroom, and all their company, without saving one creature, together with their wives and children, and friends, to the number of four hundred, carrying off all the booty entire, and thereby doing justice to their murdered brother. And so returned again to their quarters beyond Jordan.

Bacchides having settl'd garrisons in Judea, went back to his master; by which means the Jews for above two years time, continued in some tolerable quiet: but their apostate brethren, who were always their most implacable enemies, being gall'd at their very souls to see Jonathan and his people so much at ease, again solicited Demetrius, that Bacchides might once more be ordered to reduce Jonathan absolutely into his power, pretending it might be easily done; and that one night's time would do it, in which they might surprize both him and his soldiers. Demetrius yielded to their importunity, dispatched Bacchides into Judea, who sent letters up and down to all the king's friends to give him their assistance, towards the seizing of Jonathan; so they laid their heads together to entrap him; but finding one time after another that all fail'd, for Jonathan being forewarned was prudently cautious. This disappointment, caused Bacchides in a transport of rage, to impute the miscarriage

miscarriage not so much to Jonathan's caution, as the treachery of the apostate Jews, who he said did but make sport with the king's orders; and in that freak put fifty of their chief men to death.

But Jonathan and his brother finding themselves too weak for Bacchides, withdrew into the wilderness to a village called Bethalaga, and fortified it with works and walls, to serve, in case of need, for a retreat. Upon this intelligence, Bacchides marched away to them with all the force he could make, both of his own troops and the auxiliary forces of the Jews, opening his trenches immediately against the place; and for some days carried on his approaches; Jonathan, on the other side, making a very stout resistance. While matters stood thus, he left the defence of the place to his brother Simon; and with such a body of men as he was able to draw together out of the neighbourhood, he himself stole away by night, and fell upon Bacchides in his quarters, killing a great many of his men; and by the havoc and confusion that ensued upon it, Simon came quickly to understand that it was his brother's doing. Upon which discovery he made a sally, burnt their machines, cut off a great many of their people, and so returned. Bacchides was so amazed with this assault upon his front and rear, and the miscarriages of an attempt he thought himself to be sure of, that it put him absolutely beside his reason; but all was laid still at the door of the Jewish impostors, that had practised with the king to send him on this expedition. This being so, his chief care was to consider how the siege might be raised without loss of honour, both to the king and himself; and how the army might be drawn off without ignominy.

Whilst this difficulty was under his care, Jonathan had somehow got an inkling of what Bacchides had in his thoughts, took the opportunity of being before hand with him upon that necessary point, and so sent him an honourable message, with proposals of a mutual love and friendship, upon condition of releasing all prisoners on both sides, and not to do any act of hostility one to the other: which being readily accepted by Bacchides, he ratified it, and returned to the king at Antioch, without ever returning back into Judea. And Jonathan, being in a settled condition of peace, applied himself to the business of the government, and the administration of law and justice.

Soon after this, Alexander the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, took possession of Ptolemais in Syria, by the confederacy of the forces that were in garrison, out of an aversion they had to Demetrius, as a man proud and haughty; for he had entertained an humour of mewing up himself in a castle well fortify'd, not far from Antioch, where he dron'd away his time, and left the government to shift for itself, and suffering no body to come at him. But upon this news he presently drew his troops to-

gether, and marched with his army against him, sending also an embassy to Jonathan, with proposals of a league and alliance betwixt them; which he the rather did, to prevent his joyn-
ing with Alexander. The contents of this league was, to authorize him to levy men, provide arms, and set the hostages at liberty that Bacchides had committed prisoners to the castle.

Upon the receipt of this letter from Demetrius, Jonathan went away presently to Jerusalem, where he read it publicly in the hearing of the garrison and all the people. The profligates were extremely startled to see Jonathan on a sudden so much in favour, who neglected not this opportunity to carry on his levies, set the hostages at liberty, ordering some to see them safely convey'd to their parents. And making Jerusalem the place of his residence, he fortify'd, alter'd, and repair'd it, at his pleasure, rebuilding and strengthening the walls with square stones of a mighty bigness, for the better defence of the place. So that now the Macedonians, that were dispers'd up and down in several garrisons, quitted their stations upon this change at Jerusalem: but those in Bethsura, and the tower at Jerusalem, being for the most part Jewish deserters, thought it not safe for them to stir out of their holes.

We have already shewed how Alexander the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, had possess'd himself of Ptolemais, upon which Demetrius sent an embassy to Jonathan, in order to make an alliance betwixt them. We are here farther to acquaint the reader, that Alexander knew the character of Jonathan as well as Demetrius, and had a high esteem for his courage and exploits; nor was he a stranger to the indignities that had been put upon him both by Demetrius and Bacchides; and tho' he also knew of the fair promises lately made by Demetrius, yet he resolv'd, if it were possible, to be before hand with him, in making an alliance, and entring in association with Jonathan; and therefore immediately dispatched a letter to him, wherein he not only made a tender of amity to him, but also pronounced and ordained him the high-priest of the Jews, and adopted him into the roll of his friends, sending him a purple robe and a crown of gold.

Jonathan had no sooner received this message and presents, but he put on the sacerdotal robes, and took upon him the office of the high-priesthood; and at the same time applied himself to the levying of troops, and making a large provision of arms. Demetrius soon became sensible of his error, in not being before-hand with his competitor; yet would not decline doing the utmost he could still; and therefore sends a letter to Jonathan with a most magnificent grant to the people, the substance whereof was, That their taxes should be abated; Jerusalem to be accounted holy, and to have the privilege of a sanctuary, or city of refuge, with an exemption from all tithes, and

and tributes; that the citadel should be deliver'd up to Jonathan the high-priest, and garrison'd with such Jews as he should make choice of; that all Jewish prisoners should be at liberty: that their sabbaths and solemn feasts shall be days of liberty and immunity to the Jews, and three days before they come: that three thousand of them shall be taken into pay, at the rate of his own guard, the better sort to be received as domesticks of his royal family: that they shall have the free exercise of their own laws and religion: that he will allow fifteen thousand shekels of silver towards the charge of sacrifices: that the temple shall be made a place of refuge, and the wall repaired and fortified at the charge of Demetrius.

After which, the two kings put the issue of their respective titles to a battle, in which Demetrius, after having done all that a man can do, was at last forced to retire, and leave the victory to Alexander.

But Jonathan at this time standing fair with both, drew together all the forces he was able to raise out of Judea, and set himself down before the citadel of Jerusalem, with a resolution to dislodge the Macedonian garrison and fugitive Jews that had taken sanctuary therein, and who were so bold and confident in the strength of the place, that they at first gave Jonathan a most contemptuous defiance; but were soon after glad to send to Demetrius for succour. This intelligence put Demetrius into such a case, that he immediately marched out with his army from Antioch towards Jonathan; and upon his arrival at Ptolemais, he sent for him by letters to come to him. Jonathan, upon this invitation, took with him several rich presents of gold, silver, glorious garments, and other precious curiosities; and attended with the priests and elders, made a compliment of them to Demetrius; the siege going forward all this while nevertheless. The king's heart was so softened by this generous way of respect, that he received both Jonathan and his presents with great honour, and confirmed him in the pontificate conferred upon him by his ancestors: and was so far from giving any credit to the calumny and suggestion of the rabble of the fugitive Jews, that upon Jonathan's single request for an abatement of the tribute of Judea, together with the dependencies of Samaria, Joppa, and Galilee, he readily granted it, and wrote to Lathemas in their favour.

Jonathan all this while continu'd the siege of the citadel of Jerusalem, with a resolution not only to clear that castle, but other strong holds also in the country, where the fugitive Jews sheltered themselves in garrison: so that he sent an embassy to Demetrius upon this occasion, desiring him to withdraw all his men that were in any of the fortresses of Judea: whose answer was, That he was ready to gratify him, not only in that, but in a greater matter, so soon as ever he could quit his hands of

the present war, which found him so much work, he was not at liberty to do any thing else; adjuring him withal by all that was sacred in friendship, to send him a supply of men, for that his own troops were gone over to the enemy. Jonathan soon after sent the king a supply of three thousand choice men, which did more service than all the rest of his forces; he sending them back after the war was over with a most honourable testimony of their valour, acknowledging that it was to their courage he stood indebted for his success. Yet was Demetrius so ingrateful, that not long after he threatened Jonathan with a war, if he did not for the future make good those tributes to himself, which the Jews had formerly paid to his predecessors. And he had been as good as his word in that matter, had not Tryphon diverted, by setting the crown upon the head of young Antiochus, who making open war upon Demetrius, worsted him in a set battle, made himself master of his elephants, and of the city of Antioch, and forced him back into Cilicia.

Antiochus, upon this revolution, sent an embassy to Jonathan in the stile of his friend and ally, establishing him in the pontificate, put him in possession of the four governments that were assigned to Judea, and gave his brother Simon the command of all his forces, from Tyre to the borders of Sidon, presenting Jonathan besides with several drinking cups of gold, purple garments, with a golden buckle, and the privilege of using and wearing those ensigns of state: adopting him also in the roll of his choicest friends. Jonathan was so sensible of the multiplied bounties and marks of honour that he had received from Antiochus, that he forthwith dispatched away an express to him and Tryphon, both in one, with a most affectionate tender of his friendship and service, with all readiness to join against Demetrius as a common enemy; reflecting also upon him at the same time, as the most ungrateful of men in returning so much evil for so much good.

Jonathan soon after fell to raising of men, both in Syria and Phenicia, and from thence to all the neighbouring towns and cities, where he was received with great honour in appearance, but got no soldiers among them. Upon his coming afterwards to Ascalon, he was entertain'd with formalities and presents; where he took occasion to lay before them (as he had done at other places) how much it was their interest and their duty to take up arms against Demetrius for Antiochus, having so fair an opportunity before them to reckon with him now for old scores: and so far he wrought upon them by his advice and reasoning, that they promised supplies. But advancing to Gaza, upon the design of the same good offices to Antiochus, he found the gates shut against him, the people obstinately declaring for Demetrius; which Jonathan took so heinously, that he forthwith

forthwith divided his army upon it, assaulting the town with one part, while the other laid waste the country: so that the inhabitants seeing nothing but inevitable destruction before their eyes, and no appearance of any relief from Demetrius made a seasonable and submissive application to Jonathan by their deputies, who were by him as freely received into his interest and friendship.

Demetrius in the mean time encamp'd with a strong army before Cadasa, upon the borders of Tyre and Galilee, designing to draw Jonathan out of Syria, by way of diversion, to the assistance of Galilee, presuming he would first look to his own country. But Jonathan notwithstanding, made all the speed he could to encounter him, leaving his brother Simon to take care of Judea in his absence. Simon at the same time, with what men he could get together out of that country, march'd up to Bethsura, assaulted it, and pressed it so close, that (altho' it was accounted the most defensible place in all Judea) they sent a messenger to Simon, only for leave to quit the place without molestation or violence, and to have free liberty to march away to Demetrius: Simon granted them their own condition, and put another garrison in the place.

Jonathan at this time moving from Galilee, advanced into the plain of Asor, not dreaming of any enemy in that quarter; but a party of Demetrius's having notice of his design the day before placed an ambush under a mountain, and marched towards him with their body in the plain field. Jonathan no sooner saw them in order of battle, but he gave his men the best orders he could in so short a time, how to govern themselves in the action; but when the Jews came to discover the ambush they turned their backs immediately for fear of being cooped up between two bodies, and so all cut off. The terror was so general, that Jonathan had hardly a man to stand by him, save only two captains of his guards, Methias the son of Apolon, and Judas the son of Capseas, who with a band of fifty brave fellows, stood their ground, and made so desperate a charge upon the enemy's front, that they fought rather like mad men than soldiers. Jonathan's deserters finding the enemy doubtful and staggering, in this confusion made head and rally'd; and falling in upon them afresh, killed two thousand upon the place, pursuing the rest to Cadasa, up to their very tents. Jonathan, after this glorious victory, return'd to Jerusalem, and upon the reputation he had then gotten, sends ambassadors to Rome and Lacedemon, with a commission to renew an alliance with them; and his ambassadors were well received, and his desires readily comply'd with.

The commanders of Demetrius were now advancing towards Jonathan, at the head of an army more numerous than what they had before, in hopes of redeeming the credit they lost by

their last overthrow. But Jonathan having intelligence that they were a coming, made all the haste he could to meet them at Amathias, with a resolution to oppose their passage into Judea; encamping himself within fifty furlongs of the enemy, sending scouts abroad to know how they were posted, and which way they bent their design. By the return of the spies, and some prisoners they had taken that night, Jonathan found that their design was to surprize him in his quarters. So that he put every thing immediately into a posture of defence, planting his watches and outguards to the best advantage, keeping his men in arms all night, and telling them what visitants he expected, that they might not be surpris'd. But it seems the officers of Demetrius understood their design was discovered, which so broke their measures, that instead of attacking Jonathan, they gave him the slip under the covert of the night. The next morning, by peep of day, Jonathan march'd up with a resolution to force their camp; but finding it abandoned, he in vain pursu'd the fugitives, who had got into a place of safety before he could overtake them.

Simon in the mean time made a progress through Judea and Palestine, as far as Ascalon, garrisoned all the places of defence, and then took possession of Joppa, putting a strong guard into it, to keep the inhabitants in awe, who would otherwise have betray'd the town to Demetrius.

Matters being thus dispos'd, Jonathan and Simon return'd to Jerusalem, and summoning the people into the temple, put them upon repairing of the ruinous walls, not only about the holy place, but about the city also, fortifying them with high and substantial walls; advising them also to erect another wall, to cut off all communication between the castle and the city, and putting good garrisons into other convenient places, to keep the country in a defensible condition. All which was put in execution, the people being highly pleas'd with the reason of what he said.

And now Demetrius advanc'd into Mesopotamia, having a design not only of subduing that country, but also of taking Babylon itself, the Greeks and Macedonians thereabouts having sent him several embassies and invitations to come over to them, promising to assist him with their arms against Arsaces the king of Parthia. Demetrius, upon these assurances, immediately moves towards them; and with them, putting himself at the head of a brave army, makes war upon Arsaces; by whom he was utterly routed, his whole body destroy'd, and himself taken prisoner.

This miscarriage of Demetrius makes Tryphon relinquish his pretended faith to Antiochus, and endeavour, by removing his master out of the way, to set up for himself; but this he thought was not to be done without taking off Jonathan, who was a

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true friend to Antiochus; and therefore, to rid his hands of Jonathan, this was his contrivance: he went from Antioch to Bethlen, alias Scythopolis, where he found Jonathan with forty thousand choice men at his heels, that were ready to serve him in case of need. Tryphon seeing Jonathan so well attended, soon saw there was no good to be done by down-right force; and therefore resolves to go another way to work, and impose upon him by presents and fair words; giving it in charge to his officers, to pay the same respect and obedience to Jonathan, as they did to himself; intending by these ways of insinuation, to cover the treachery of his false heart, and betray Jonathan, for want of caution, to a mortal credulity and surprize: which he brought about by paying such a respect to Jonathan, and telling him, that the war being now at an end, he would do well to discharge his army, as a burden there was no occasion for; but still advising to keep a competent guard about his person; and that they might go together to Ptolemais, for that he was resolved to put him in possession of that city, and of all the fortresses thereabout; for, said he, I am now come hither on purpose to deliver those places into your hands. Jonathan, whose innocency would not permit him to suspect any villany under such fair pretences, dismiss'd his army, all but three thousand men, whereof he left two in Galilee, and carried the third along with him, in company with Tryphon, to Ptolemais. But he was no sooner entered the town, with his people, but the inhabitants, according to their instructions, shut the gates upon him, took Jonathan himself alive, and cut off all his soldiers every man of them; and part of the army was sent to Galilee to murder the other two thousand there, as they had done their fellows; but they having timely notice of their treachery to Jonathan, took themselves to their arms immediately upon the report, and so made their escape, Tryphon's men not caring to go after them lest they should have revenged the death of their fellows.

The news of Jonathan's imprisonment, and the massacre of his men, struck the inhabitants of Jerusalem with an insupportable sorrow, out of the love they bore him; but with an unspeakable apprehension over and above of the miseries that they lay exposed to in the consequence of his death, even to the hazard of the whole nation, by letting loose those enemies upon them, on this occasion, that stood in awe of them before. Nor were they mistaken in their conjectures, as the sequel will shew.

In this low state of the Jews affairs, Simon observing their consternation upon what had fallen out, he, out of an affectionate zeal to keep up their spirits, assembled the people together, and made the following discourse:

I need not to tell you, my friends and countrymen, how vigorously

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rously and frankly I myself, my father, and my brethren, have ever-exposed ourselves to the utmost difficulties and hazard for our common liberties: so that it is now no new thing in our family to lay down our lives in the defence of our laws and religion; neither am I so sensible of the authority of these domestic examples, as to be wrought upon by any terror, to the sacrificing of my honour and my duty for the saving of my life. Wherefore, without looking farther for a leader, you have a man here before you that is ready to do, or to suffer all things that are great and glorious for your preservation and welfare: do but you only follow where I shall lead you, I do not reckon myself to do better than my brethren; neither do I value my life at a higher rate than they have done theirs before me; nor am I so degenerate as to think of saving that life by cowardise, when my country and my religion are at stake, which our family has ever accounted as the most heroicall of their adventures, to part with upon the same occasion: no, no, my friends and brethren, it shall never be said that I have derogated from the dignity of our family. I make no doubt at all yet, but that God in his good time, will, even by my hand avenge you upon the heads of your enemies; deliver you, with your wives and children, from your oppressors, and vindicate the holy temple against all the abominations and violences of your malicious persecutors. And what is it, in fine, that encourages this present confederacy against you, but that they look upon you as sheep without a shepherd, or, which is the same thing, as an army without a leader?

This was the speech of Simon; and there needed nothing more to be said to inflame the multitude, who thereupon immediately took courage, shook off their fears, and revived their courage with the hope of better things: so that the general voice was, none so fit as Simon to succeed to the command of his brave brothers, Judas and Jonathan; and therefore let Simon be our general; and whatever he commands shall be obey'd. Simon, being thus invested with power, got as many of the people together as were fit to bear arms; and so fell to work upon the walling of the city, and fortifying it with strong and stately towers; and that being over, he sent a trusty friend to Joppa, with orders to turn the inhabitants out of the town, lest they should deliver it up to Tryphon, who was now upon his march from Ptolemais with a great army; and coming into Judea he brought Jonathan with him in bonds; Simon met him with his troops near the city Abdia upon a mountain that overlooks the plain.

Tryphon, when he understood the Jews had chosen Simon for their general, thought to put a trick upon him, as he had done on his brother Jonathan, and so sent him word, that if he had a mind to have his brother Jonathan discharged, let him send

send him a hundred talents of silver, and two sons of Jonathan along with it for hostages, that he should not seduce Judea from their allegiance to the king; pretending that he was only to be kept in custody till the king's money should be paid. But Simon was not to be trik'd, he knew well enough there was a cheat in it; yet, lest he should seem to be against his brother's liberty on the one hand, or blam'd for delivering up his brother's sons into the hands of an enemy, and losing so much money on the other hand; he thought it wisdom to act with the greatest circumspection imaginable, lest the calumny of his brother's death should at last be left at his door. He therefore called a council to debate upon this matter, letting them know that he believed there was treachery at the bottom; but that he thought it better to send both the money and the sons at a venture, than to incur a suspicion upon not hearkening to Tryphon's conditions, as if he were not so zealous as he should be for the safety of his brother. So the resolution of the council was to send both. Tho', after all, Tryphon broke his faith, as Simon thought he would, and refused to release Jonathan; but went up and down with his army ravaging the country, till he came at last to Dora, a city of Idumea, intending to take that in his way to Jerusalem; Simon keeping up with him still, where ever he went, camp against camp.

Whilst Tryphon was upon the way, word was brought him from thence, that the garrison was hard pressed for want of provisions; and that they desired he would immediately hasten away to their relief. Upon this intelligence he ordered his horse to be in readiness, for he would march without delay to their succour. But providence put a Remora in his way; for there fell so great a snow that night, that the ways were all covered and impassable, especially for the horse. Upon this disappointment he decamped and went back to Cele-Syria; and passing through the country of Gilead, caused Jonathan, near to the city of Basca, to be slain and buried there. And from thence he returned to Antioch.

Simon took care, however to remove Jonathan's bones to his father's sepulchre at Modin, with the solemnity of a publick mourning: and not only so, but he also erected a glorious monument of white polish'd marble, to the honour of his family. And in the first year of his promotion, he delivered them from the tributes they formerly paid to the Macedonians; and gain'd so great an esteem and authority among the people, that they dated their writings, as well private as publick, in such and such a year of Simon the governor of the Jews, and the most deserving patron of the nation; for under his administration all things succeeded well, both in war and peace, by the advantages he brought to his friends, and by the victory he obtained over the common enemy, destroying the cities of Gazara, Joppa, Jam-

nia, laying the citadel of Jerusalem level with the ground; and not only so, but caused the mountain upon which it stood to be digged up and plained, leaving the temple (which was before commanded by it) upon the advantage ground; that so it might not be troublesome to them again, if it ever should fall into the hands of an enemy prince.

Tryphon, who had as before related, treacherously seiz'd upon Jonathan, and afterwards as villainously put him to death, when he had promised to set him at liberty, soon after secretly murdered his pupil Antiochus, the son of Alexander; giving it out that it was only an unlucky accident in his exercises that brought him to his end: which rumour was spread abroad by Tryphon's emissaries, whilst he made an interest among the soldiers, by the force of friends and money, to dispose them towards the choice of himself for their next governor; urging, that Demetrius was a prisoner to the Parthians, and Antiochus would never forget the deserts of his brother. By which insinuations Tryphon prepared his way to the crown. And having gained his point, he soon discover'd those vices, and that ill nature, which he all along had concealed from the people, proved himself to be a true Tryphon, i. e. a dissolute wretch in his manners as well as in his name. And yet, perhaps, it was too soon for his interest to shew it then; for his adversaries laid hold of it to his disadvantage; and the soldiers growing quickly weary of his humour, went over to Cleopatra the wife of Demetrius, who had then shut up herself in Seleucia, with her children, while Antiochus Soter, the brother of Demetrius, went skulking up and down from place to place, no body daring to receive him for fear of Tryphon. Now Cleopatra, by the encouragement of the military men that deserted him, and the fear he had of being deliver'd up by the Seleucians to Tryphon, sent a messenger to Antiochus, with a proposal of marriage, and a tender of her kingdom to him, as well as of her person: which proposition was by Antiochus readily embrac'd; and thereupon the people came trooping over to him in such numbers, that in a short time he was master of a marching army, and made war upon Tryphon, and overcame him in battle, beating him out of Syria into Phenicia; and at last begirt him in Dora, a strong and well fortify'd hold; he sent ambassadors also to Simon the high-priest of the Jews, upon a treaty of amity and alliance, who frankly accepted of his terms, and soon after sent him a supply of provisions and money for the carrying on the siege; which was a service at that time so acceptable to Antiochus that he looked upon Simon as the best friend he had in the world. But Tryphon however escap'd out of Dora, and fled to Apama, where the town being taken, himself was slain, as a just reward of all his villany.

Tryphon being thus slain, Antiochus, was so far from ac-
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knowledging the good offices of Simon, that he sent an army under the command of Cendebeus to lay Judea waste, and to seize upon his person. The sense of this perfidious indignity put the good old man so far out of patience, that, forgetting the infirmities of his age, he marched immediately at the head of an army with the resolution of a hero in the flower of his youth and vigour, to engage the enemy, sending his sons before him with some of his choicest troops, and himself following by several ways with the rest. And his actions were attended with a suitable success; for he had still the better of him upon every encounter. After which he renew'd his peace with the Romans, and lived long after in quiet.

But there is no stability in the affairs of this life; for when Simon had peace from abroad, he was treacherously murdered by his own son-in-law Ptolemy, upon an invitation to a treat. And at the same time had his wife, and two of his sons, made prisoners; but his third son John, (otherwise called Hyrcanus) having escap'd the danger, fled to Jerusalem, and there took sanctuary; where the people were doubly kind to him, partly for the love and veneration they had for the memory of his father and in part for the deadly hatred they bore to Ptolemy whom they bravely repulsed, when he attempted to enter at one gate, because they had already received Hyrcanus at another. Upon which affront, as Ptolemy accounted it, he withdrew himself to a certain castle not far from Jericho, called Dayon.

Hyrcanus being well received at Jerusalem, was invested with the pontificate, and officiated in it, as successor to his father, offering up prayers and sacrifices according to the divine law; which being over, Hyrcanus marched away to assault the fort where Ptolemy was; which was so much the more difficult to do, because he had not only to contend with an unnatural murderer, but also with the natural piety and tenderness he had for his mother and his brethren, whom Ptolemy expos'd from the top of the wall, whipping and tormenting them in the sight of all the people, with menaces to cast them headlong from the battlements, unless Hyrcanus quitted the siege. Now Hyrcanus thinking with himself, that the easier he was to the town, the easier would Ptolemy be to his relations; this thought at first put him to a little stand: but his mother seeing him look and act as if he were deliberating what to do, called out to him aloud, and encourag'd him, both with her hand and voice, to make a right use of that barbarous and inhumane spectacle, and, without any regard to her and her childrens torments, to do himself and his family right, in a just vengeance upon the head of that execrable monster; for she herself desired nothing more than to expire in her torments, upon condition that the unnatural tyrant might be punished according to his desert. The

generous and provoking bravery of this excellent woman rais'd the spirits of Hyrcanus to the highest resolution to push forward the assault. But finding the more they press'd upon the fort the fiercer that inhuman brute was upon his mother, all his resentments of rage and revenge gave way to the prevailing softness of a dutiful son: so that by these pauses and intervals, irresolution and distraction, the siege was drawn out in length till the sabbath year came on; the seventh year being a year of rest to the Jews, as well as the seventh of days: so that Ptolemy being delivered from the war and the siege, putting to death the mother and the brethren of Hyrcanus, he withdrew himself to Zeno, surnamed Coryla, a tyrant, what at that time usurp'd to himself the government of Philadelphia.

After this, Antiochus remembering how often he had been baffled and disgraced by Simon, the father of Hyrcanus, resolv'd now to be revenged on the son; so that in the first year of the pontificate of Hyrcanus, he ravaged the country of Judea, and then drove Hyrcanus into Jerusalem, intending to take that also; but after much time spent about it, he found it so far impregnable, that after all the works they had rais'd against it, he found it would be his best way to reduce it by famine; and therefore Hyrcanus being aware thereof, turned all the useless people out of the city; which for them was very hard; for betwixt Antiochus on one hand, who stopp'd them from going further, and Hyrcanus on the other, that would not let them go back again, many of them perished for want of bread.

During this extremity, came the time of the feast of tabernacles; upon the celebrating of which feast, these hunger-starv'd creatures were admitted into the town again. Whereupon the inhabitants address'd themselves to Antiochus, only to grant them a truce for seven days, in honour of their solemnity; which he not only granted them, but sent in magnificent presents of beasts for their sacrifices, and also cups of gold and silver, replenish'd with all sorts of precious spices and perfumes, treating them in a far different manner from what Antiochus Epiphanes, one of his predecessors, had done before him; who, in defiance of their laws and religion had sacrificed hogs upon the altar, and profan'd the holy place with porridge made of swine's flesh: but this was Antiochus the profane, and this was surnamed, by all sorts of people, Antiochus the pious, from the sense he had of religion.

Hyrcanus having such an instance of the justice and goodness of the king, moves him by an embassy on the behalf of the Jews, who only desired the liberty of living according to the laws and customs of their own country: And tho' there were of them about the king that would have had them all wholly cut off, as a people insociable and singular, and that would be thought holier and wiser than their neighbours; yet upon their
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undertaking for the taxes of Joppa, and the rest of the cities about Judea, the king agreed with them upon their own terms, and put an end to the war.

After this Hyrcanus caused the monument of David to be opened, where he found three thousand talents, and made a seizure of them to his own use; and then strikes a league with Antiochus, and followed him into the Parthian war; where Antiochus coming to a battle with Arsaces the king of Parthia, he therein lost both his life and army, being succeeded by his brother Demetrius, whom Arsaces upon invasion of Antiochus, after a long imprisonment set at liberty.

Upon the death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus immediately marched into Syria, where he subdued the whole province of Idumea, and caused them to submit to the Jewish laws and customs; and from that time forward they were also called Jews. Hyrcanus by this means being in good reputation, sent an embassy to the Roman senate, and entered into alliance with them.

Demetrius, who had been set at liberty by Arsaces, was now very willing to pick a quarrel with Hyrcanus; but soon found he had other work to do: for the Syrians, and his own soldiers, hated him for his lewdness, to that degree, that they joined in a confederacy against him; and it coming to a battle, Demetrius was routed; and, as his last shift, fled to his wife Cleopatra, at Ptolemais, where he there fell into the hands of his enemies, who kept him a while in the anguish of a miserable life, and at last put him to death.

Alexander Zebina was, after the death of Demetrius possessed of the kingdom of Syria, and entered into a league with Hyrcanus the high-priest, who soon after was engaged in a war with Antiochus Gryphes, the son of Demetrius; which being brought to a battle, Alexander happened to be slain, and so Antiochus became king of Syria; who having a brother that also pretended to the kingdom, his business was to guard himself against him, and so was forced to leave the Jews to their own liberty. For while the two brothers were battering and teasing one another, Hyrcanus had Judea entirely to himself, and the opportunity of hoarding up an immense mass of treasure.

Under these circumstances, Hyrcanus besieged Samaria, being irritated against them by the indignities they had put upon the people of Marissa, who were inhabitants and allies of Judea, tho' the subjects of the king of Syria; the conduct and management of this siege he gave to his sons Antigonus and Aristobolus, who took it after a year's siege, in which the inhabitants suffered very much. And the longer the place held out, so much the severer was the vengeance that fell upon it; for Hyrcanus thought it not enough to be master of the city, without razing the very memory of it from the earth; for he both made

it a heap of rubbish, and drew several trenches of water thorow it, which so metamorphos'd it from what it was, that there was not the least mark left of any building that had ever been there. There is a remarkable, and almost incredible story reported of this Hyrcanus, which is, That on the day of the battle, which his son had with Antiochus Cyzicenus, as Hyrcanus was in the temple alone offering of incense, it was revealed to him by a voice from heaven, that his sons had gotten a fresh victory over Antiochus: he went out immediately, and told the people what he had heard, and the event confirmed it beyond all dispute, it being computed to be just upon the precise instant of the success.

Hyrcanus, notwithstanding this great success, was envy'd by the Jews, especially by the Pharisees; which is a faction so sacred, and of that authority among the common people, that let them treat the king or the high-priest at never so coarse a rate, the multitude would be sure to side with them. Hyrcanus, however, having been trained up in that school, and looked upon as a person much in their favour, took a fair occasion to invite them to an entertainment, where he treated them with all possible humanity and respect. So soon as the company and good cheer had put them into the humour of a free and easy conversation, he took his time to speak to them to this effect: I need not tell you, my worthy friends, that a man of your own principles desires nothing more than to approve himself acceptable to God and just to his neighbour; which is but according to the result of your own doctrine: but if you shall find, however, that I have any thing departed from my duty, as it is your part to admonish and instruct me, it shall be mine to amend and reform. This generous candour was received with such applause, that Hyrcanus did not a little value himself upon the reputation of so honourable a testimony. But, after some short pause, Eleazar, one of the guests, and a pestilent spiteful man, stood up, and spake thus to Hyrcanus: since you are pleased to profess yourself so great a lover of truth and plain dealing, be but so just also as to lay down your pontificate, and content yourself with the character of your civil administration. And I beseech you, says Hyrcanus, why this proposal? Because, said Eleazar, We have been told by our elders, That in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, your mother was a slave. Now this report being altogether false, was so much the more offensive, as well to the Pharisees as to Hyrcanus himself. There happened to be in the company, one Jonathan a particular friend of Hyrcanus, but a Sadducee, and, by consequence, a mortal enemy to Pharisees: this Jonathan would needs have it, that the calumny of Eleazar was a thing concerted, and that the Pharisees were all privy to it: and this you will find to be true, says he to Hyrcanus, if you do but put it to them, what punishment

punishment they think a man may deserve for so scandalous an imputation. Hyrcanus put the question, to feel how they stood affected, and whether or no they had any hand in the affront. Their answer was, being men generally inclin'd to mercy in such cases, That they did not find defamation to be a capital crime; so they thought whipping and imprisonment might serve for satisfaction. This way of qualifying the matter, put Hyrcanus into a terrible fret, and made him imagine they had every one of them a part in this infamous reflection upon his family. In this heat, Jonathan imbittered Hyrcanus against the Pharisees to that degree, that he absolutely renounc'd the sect, and went over to the Sadducees, abrogating all their ordinances and statutes, with a penalty upon those that should presume to observe them; which was a rash thing of Hyrcanus, and put both himself and his sons quite out of credit with the common people.

And here it will not be amiss to say something of the various sects among the Jews, of whom I shall have so much occasion to speak ere long, they have had so great a hand in the destruction of Jerusalem.

There are among the Jews three sects of religion, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes: the Pharisees are the great doctors of the law, the best read men in the Jewish rites and ceremonies; it is, in effect, the first article of their creed, that fate and God do all; and yet that whether we do well or ill, it is much in our own power which of the two; only that destiny interposes sometimes in this or that particular. They believe the soul to be immortal; and they believe also a transmigration of the souls of good men into other bodies; but at the same time, that the souls of the wicked are transmitted into a state of everlasting woe. The Pharisees hold many traditions handed down from father to son, which are not to be found among the laws of Moses, and are principally supported by the favour of the multitude.

The Sadducees absolutely deny fate: God can do no ill, is one of their maxims; but that he leaves every man at liberty to do what he list. They have good and evil before them, and they take their choice. But for reward or punishment in another world, they know nothing of it, believing there is neither angels or spirits. They reject all unwritten traditions, believing that the written laws are only binding; they are upheld by men of quality and substance; and yet are harsh and ill-natur'd among themselves, but to strangers are inhuman and intolerable: whereas the Pharisees are sociable, and live in good intelligence one with another.

The Essenes, tho' mention'd last, are the best of the three, for the exercise of holiness and mortification: they are by nation Jews, the most united and friendly people one with another

ther under the sun: they have the same aversion to pleasure that they have to vice, and reckon upon continence, and the command of the passions, as a virtue of the first rate. As to the wealth and goods of this world, they have it all in contempt, and not so much as know what it is to be rich or poor; for it lies all in common: by which means no man shall be contemptible for being poor, nor honourable for being rich. But the whole live like brethren, being all equal sharers in one common patrimony. They value themselves upon the plain simplicity of their appearance, tho' never so coarse, provided their garments are but white and plain. They chuse their stewards, for the receipt and management of their revenues, out of the best men they have, and leave it to their discretion to make a distribution of them to every man in proportion according to his need. They have no other certain place of abode, but disperse themselves up and down in several cities, where they are ever ready and open to entertain all comers of their own sect; and as free as if they were at home, tho' they never saw one another in their lives before. They carry nothing about them when they travel, but arms for their security upon the highway. They have some body or other in every city to take care of their friends, that they want neither their lodging, food, garments, nor other necessities: they neither change either their garments or their shoes, but when one is torn, or the other worn out. They neither buy nor sell among themselves, but help one another with what they want, and what one wants the other supplies; the one being obliged to give and the other at liberty to receive. They are the strictest people to Godward of all men living. They make a conscience of not speaking one word of common business before the sun rises. In a word, they are great masters of their passions, men of good faith, lovers of peace, and hold their word at least as sacred as their oath; for they look upon him as a liar, and a man of no credit, that cannot be believed without he bring God for a witness. There is no disorder in their houses; they speak in turns, and their gravity and silence causes a great veneration to be paid them by strangers, who look upon all this to be the effect of a constant course of sobriety; such being their great moderation in their eating and drinking, that they do it only to suffice nature. But it is now time to put an end to this digression, and return to our history again.

Altho' Hyrcanus's setting himself against the sect of the Pharisees, and declaring himself a Sadducee, as has been before related, was a great diminution of his credit with the common people; yet after the composing this sedition, he lived in great happiness and quiet to the very day of his death. He left behind him five sons, and God was pleased to honour him with three eminent dignities; the civil government, the high-priest-

hood,

hood, and the spirit of prophecy, receiving his revelations from God himself, never failing in his predictions, which was made good in his two eldest sons, of whom he foretold that their dominions should not last long; and the event confirm'd it; for after the death of Hyrcanus, Aristobulus, his eldest son translated the principality into a monarchy, and set the crown upon his own head: this change of the Jewish government was four hundred eighty one years and three months after the return of the people into Judea, from the Babylonish captivity.

Aristobulus having thus set the crown upon his head, had so great a kindness for his brother Antigonus, that he made him also partner with him in the royal dignity: but for the rest of his brethren, he caused them to be taken into custody; and not only did he deal so by his brethren; but by his mother also, imprisoning her for pretending some sort of right to the government, upon a suggestion that Hyrcanus had left the regency in her hand; which he look'd upon as so great a crime, that he proceeded to that excess of cruelty as to starve her in the very prison.

But the divine vengeance followed him for this his unnatural cruelty to his mother, whom he did not love, by the loss of his brother Antigonus, whom he loved so dearly. For several of his courtiers so misrepresented his brother's actions to the king, that he caused him to be privately put to death: after the perpetration whereof, his conscience shew in his face; and, with extreme vomiting of blood, his very guts came out; which, with the blood he had vomited, being carried out by a servant, it was accidentally cast upon the very place which was stain'd with the blood of his murder'd brother: which the king coming to hear of, he, with tears in his eyes, and fetching a heart breaking sigh, said, well, it was not to be expected that my secret sins should escape the eye of an all-seeing God; or that divine vengeance should not follow so horrible a wickedness at the heel. Ah! thou miserable body of mine, how long wilt thou keep my soul from seeing the justice I owe to my murder'd mother and brother? Why do I not sacrifice my blood all at once, than drain it out at length thus drop after drop, to go off at once in the bitterness of pains and agonies, the sport of fortune? With which words he concluded his life, and his own year's reign.

The widow queen, after Aristobulus's death, set Alexander at liberty, and declared him king, as being then the eldest son, and reputed a prince of moderation; but his reign did not shew him so; for as soon as ever he came to the crown, he put one of his brothers to death for aspiring to the sovereignty; but the other, afraid of his brother's fate, and being willing to live in a private condition, he took him to himself.

After this, Alexander makes war upon the king of Egypt; and

and tho' he killed, in a set battle, a great many of his men, yet Ptolemy Lather (for so was the king of Egypt call'd) got the day, and yet but little by it; for Cleopatra, his mother, forcing him into Egypt, Alexander took Godara by siege; and Amathus, the fairest castle beyond Jordan; also the place where Theodore, the son of Zenia had deposited his treasure, and all that he had that was precious. But Theodore coming upon him before he was aware, did not only recover his own treasure, but took all the king's baggage, and cut off near ten thousand Jews in the battle. Alexander, notwithstanding this being reinforced, carried on the war to the sea coasts, taking Raphia, Gaza, and Arthedon.

After this, at one of their solemn festivals, the Jews mutinied against Alexander, which had like to have issued in a general revolt; but by taking mercenaries into pay, he cut to pieces upwards of six thousand of the Jews, and then made war upon Arabia, where, having subdued the Moabites and Galaadites, and made them his tributaries, he came back again to Amathus, and with the reputation of his successes, fighting away Theodorus, he raz'd the castle to the ground. But adventuring against Obodus, he was by an ambuscade surprized, his whole army destroy'd, and himself with difficulty escaped to Jerusalem, where he found his old enemies more violent against him than ever. And tho' upon all encounters he was still too hard for them, in six years time destroying near fifty thousand of the Jews, yet would they not be reconciled to him. After which he attempted to ingratiate himself with his people by some gentler ways; but this was as much in vain as the other; for he had rendered himself so odious to them, that when he once asked what he could do in the world to please them? They told him, He must die, and see what they would do; for they could hardly pardon him in his grave for the injuries he had done them in his life-time. Nor is it at all strange, that they should have an aversion for him, considering his barbarous usage of them: for Alexander having one day made a treat for his concubines, one part of the entertainment was the spectacle of 800 of them, whom he had made prisoners upon the cross in the middle of the city, having first cut the throats of their wives and children before their faces. This execrable frightful tragedy was presented for a diversion to Alexander and his women, in the height of their debauch. But it struck such an astonishing terror in the people, that 5000 of the inhabitants fled their country the next night, and never came back again, till after the death of this prince. Yet by these inhumane methods, attended with prosperous success abroad, he came at last, tho' with much ado, to settle himself and his people in some sort of quiet.

At last falling into an indisposition by a quartan^eague, and being

being possess'd with an opinion, that action and stirring would do him good, he entered into a new and unseasonable war; and struggling beyond his strength, he tired himself out with the fatigue, and so ended his days in a hurry, dying in the twenty-seventh year of his reign; and leaving the government to his wife Alexandra, as one that had made herself popular by her moderation and virtue. A woman far from the rigor and hardness of her husband; and therefore he made no doubt of the people's ready submission and resignation to her authority. Nor was he deceiv'd in his opinion; for the reputation of her piety aton'd for the disadvantage of her sex; being a woman perfectly instructed in the Jewish rites and customs, and one that had ever given constant proof of her zeal for the observance of those holy laws. She had by Alexander two sons, the elder Hyrcanus, and him for his age she advanced to the pontificate. And then finding him of a temper wary and manageable, she reckon'd there would be no danger in declaring him king too. But thought it more adviseable to keep her younger son Aristobulus (who was of a quick and enterprizing spirit) in a private state of life.

Alexandra knew her husband's misfortunes arose from his opposing the Pharisees, a sect very popular among the Jews, who, under a shew of more than ordinary sanctity, cover'd abundance of ill-nature. The queen was resolv'd to avoid that rock on which her husband had like to have split, and so gave herself up to the Pharisees; and while she ruled the kingdom, was ruled herself by them. For being bigotted in her religion, even to a degree of superstition, had herself a mighty reverence for these holy men. And therefore at their instigation she put one Diogenes to death, who was a person of quality, and a most particular friend to the late king; suggesting that he had a hand in crucifying the eight hundred men before mentioned. But this was not sufficient, for they proceeded on further to things of this nature; and whosoever they had a mind should be taken out of the way, it was but saying that he was an adviser in the horrible action, and it was enough, so that no man was safe that was not a bigot to the Pharisees. This made several persons of condition take sanctuary with Aristobulus, who moved his mother for the future only to turn those out of the city whom she should suspect to be guilty; so that afterward, instead of being put to death, they were only banished.

The queen soon after fell very dangerously ill, Aristobulus, her youngest son, with a select company of his dependants, got possession of the castle, took what money he could find, and engaging a body of auxiliary troops, declared himself king. Hyrcanus upon his turn, made his complaint to his mother, who thereupon caused the wife and sons of Aristobulus to be shut up in the castle on the north-side of the temple; but dy'd before

fore she could revenge herself on Aristobulus: leaving, however, all that she had to Hyrcanus, and transmitting the government into his hands before her death. But Aristobulus was much superior to his brother, both in force and credit; insomuch, that coming to a battle near Jericho, the greatest part of Hyrcanus's men went over to Aristobulus. Whereupon, before matters proceeded to any farther extremity, an accommodation was made between the two brothers, that Aristobulus should be king, and Hyrcanus should only enjoy those honours and privileges that properly belonged to the king's brother.

But this agreement lasted not long, Hyrcanus, by the advice of Antipater, (who was by extraction an Idumean, but by his birth and estate one of the first rank of that country) applies himself to Aretus, the king of Arabia to reinstate him in his kingdom again; and Antipater having persuaded Aretus to espouse the cause of Hyrcanus, convey'd Hyrcanus out of the city by night, and brought him to Aretus, who undertook to restore Hyrcanus to his crown again; and thereupon enters Judea with an army of fifty thousand horse and foot, a force so far superior to that of Aristobulus, that he was forc'd to take sanctuary in Jerusalem, and had certainly been taken there had not Aretus been diverted by Scaurus the Roman general; for Pompey the Great, being in war with Tigranes, sent Scaurus with an army out of Armenia into Syria; but coming to Damascus, he found the place taken by Metellus and Delliis, and their troops drawn off. So that Scaurus coming by this time to understand how matters went in Judea, could not (he thought) do better than to bend his course that way.

He was no sooner on the borders, but he was met upon the way by two ambassadors from the two brothers, one from each, and both upon the same errand, which was to implore the assistance of the Romans one against the other. But Aristobulus's three hundred talents (for so much he sent the Roman general) weighed down the justice of Hyrcanus's pretensions: for Scaurus immediately sent away ambassadors to Hyrcanus, and the Arabians, in the name of Pompey the Great, and the senate of Rome, charging them immediately to quit the siege, and begone at their utmost peril. Aretus presently withdraws in a fright, fearing he should draw upon him the power of the Romans: Aristobulus by this means having escap'd taking, now thought not this sufficient, but with all the forces he had, follow'd the enemy at the heels, and cut of between 6 and 7000 of their men, among whom was Celaphon, the brother of Antipater.

Hyrcanus and Antipater, being thus disappointed of the succour they expected from Aretas, apply'd themselves to Pompey himself, who was then come to Damascus, not without an introduction of large presents: which Aristobulus perceiving, and believed he had a sufficient interest in Pompey, by the means of

Scaurus,

Scaurus, came himself to Pompey in a royal dress, and made his compliment to him, with the train and equipage of a king: by which haughty carriage of his, he gave great offence to Pompey: who nevertheless permitted both the brothers to plead their cause before him, which yet Aristobulus could hardly be brought to and therefore made away to Jerusalem, whither Pompey as suddenly follow'd him; which so surprized Aristobulus, that he went and cast himself at Pompey's feet, with supplications, promises of money, and proposals of giving up both the city and his person into Pompey's hand. But it seem'd that Aristobulus had promis'd more than he could perform; for when Gabinus, was sent to receive the money, the friends and companions of Aristobulus, that kept the town for him in his name, would not so much as let him in. This shuffling irritated Pompey to that degree, that he kept Aristobulus a prisoner, and so advanc'd to the city, to take a view of its defences and fortifications, and to consider upon what quarter to attack it; but the breaking out of a violent sedition in the town, between the two parties of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, soon let him into the city. the party of Aristobulus retiring into the temple, and cutting down the bridge of communication between them and the city, resolv'd to maintain it to the last man.

When Pompey saw the obstinacy of the Jews in the temple, and that there was no hope of any accommodation, he posted his guards, and put all things in order for an attack; Hyrcanus and his people contributing the best they could, both in action and council to his assistance.

The first business was to fill up that monstrous ditch and valley upon the north side of the wall; and this they attempted with what rubbish and materials the soldiers could get together towards the bringing of it up to a level. But this was a work of infinite difficulty, both in regard of the prodigious depth, and the advantage the Jews had of galling them from above. And, indeed, it had been a work insuperable, had it not been for a remark of Pompey's, upon the Jews superstitious observance of their seventh day, or sabbath. For he understanding that the Jews made a conscience of doing any manner of work upon that day, but what was of absolute necessity, either for the support of life, or the defence of it, in case of immediate dangers; he commanded the soldiers only to ply their intrenchments upon that day, without doing any other act of hostility. When the ground was thus level'd, the bulwarks advanc'd with strong and large turrets planted upon them and mann'd; the Romans with certain Tyrian engines they had got, began the battery; the soldiers at the same time beating the defendants out of the towers above, with stones from the walls, till in end they were quite tir'd out with labour.

Pompey could not but admire the constancy and resolution of these

these people; and more especially in this particular, that in the middle of all extremities and dangers, they never discontinued the worship and ceremonies of their religion, but offer'd up their daily prayers and sacrifices, orderly as if it had been in a profound peace: and it was the same thing with them at the last too, when they came to be finally destroy'd, and to have their throats cut at the very altar. In short, after a three months siege, and the loss only of one tower, the temple was taken by assault. The first that enter'd the breach was Faustus Cornelius, the son of Sycla; and after him Furius and Fabius, two Centurions, with their companies, who beset the temple, and put to the sword all that either fled or resisted; there were several priests at that time in the very exercise of their holy function, that with the sword's point at their breasts went on yet with their oblations and incense, without any regard to the safety of their lives, out of a veneration they had for the duties of their profession. The Jews that were for Pompey press'd so hard upon those of the other party, that they forced some of them down precipices; others, in a rage of desperation, set fire what they could come at about the walls, and then cast themselves into the flames. There perished in this outrage twelve thousand Jews; but not many Romans, tho' more of them were wounded. This was a dismal desolation in several respects; but nothing touched the Jews more to the quick, than to see the Holy of Holies expos'd to profane eyes: a thing that never happen'd before.

Pompey, with a train of his people entering this place, where only the high-priest was to be admitted, saw within it the candlesticks, lamps, and tables for incense, with other vessels, all of gold, a mass of perfumes, and of sacred treasure, to the value of two thousand talents; but would not suffer any thing of all this to be touch'd, that was consecrated to the service of God. On the next day after this destruction of the temple, he commanded the proper officers to take care for the purification of it, and to go on with the celebration of their holy worship as before. He did also declare Hyrcanus high-priest, as a consideration for the good offices he had render'd him, both in the siege, and in drawing off great numbers of the faction from Aristobulus. He executed the principal authors of the revolt, and rewarded others that had assisted him. Now Pompey having reduc'd the Jews to their own bounds, and settled Scaurus in the government, makes his return to Rome with Aristobulus and his sons, Alexander and Antigonus, and two daughters, prisoners. Tho' Alexander made his escape, and immediately after appeared in Judea, at the head of a considerable body; he press'd so hard upon Hyrcanus, that Jerusalem was endangered; whereupon Gabinius, the successor of Scaurus, began to march a very considerable army against Alexander, who,

finding

finding himself over-number'd, made his retreat, with the remains of his army, into Alexandria, where he was forced to resign himself, and surrender the place, which was afterwards levell'd with the ground. Gabinus having gain'd the victory, carry'd Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, gave him the charge of the temple, and divided Judea into five jurisdictions. viz. Jerusalem, Gadara, Amathas, Jericho and Sephais, in Galilee. About this time Aristobulus escapes from Rome, and gathers up an army among the disaffected Jews; but was reduc'd by the Romans, and sent back in chains. Crassus succeeds Gabinus, rifles the temple, and passes the Euphrates, where he was lost with his army.

After him Cassius got the government of Syria; put a stop to the Parthians, marched into Judea, and carried three thousand of the Jews into bondage. Cesar makes Hyrcanus high-priest, and Antipater governor of Judea, and gives him leave to rebuild the walls that Pompey had thrown down. Antipater upon this, gives the government of Jerusalem into the hands of Phasaël his eldest son; and the province of Galilee to Herod his second son. The growing mind and reputation of the latter provoked the envy and jealousy of Hyrcanus; tho' all his attempts against him were ineffectual. About this time was Julius Cesar murdered in the Capitol, and Antipater poisoned in his drink by Malichus who was afterwards cut to pieces by Herod's officers. New troubles happened in Jerusalem, upon the occasion of Felix's making war against Phasaël and Herod, to revenge the death of Malichus upon the two brothers. Felix is routed by Phasaël, tho' Hyrcanus ingratiously espoused his cause. Marior and Antigonus marched against Herod, and are overcome, and the two brothers, after they had been variously represented to Anthony, are pronounc'd tetrarchs of Judea and the whole weight of affairs is committed to their conduct. About two years after. Lyfanius, the successor of Ptolomy, struck up an agreement with Barraphernes governor of Syria, and Patorus his son, to dethrone Hyrcanus and set up Antigonus in his room. This horrid enterprize was managed with abundance of treachery, blood and bustle: to make short work on't. Antigonus was declar'd king, and Phasaël and Hyrcanus were delivered up to him in chains. Herod, upon this new revolution, leaves Arabia, and is kindly received at Rome by Augustus and Anthony, where the senate voted him to be king of the Jews, and accordingly he was declared. Antigonus at this time was making the best of his new dignity, and had sat down before Massada, which was defended by Joseph, Herod's brother; but Herod, assisted by Soli and Ventidius (tho' the former deserted) arrived in time to relieve the place, and raise the siege, after they had taken Joppa in their way. Herod pursued his advantage, advanced his troops before Jerusalem, and invested the city,

city, though the enemy plied him warmly with shot from the towers, and forced him to retreat. After the repulse, Herod makes off to Jericho, which he surpriz'd, pillag'd and left a garrison in the place. His next design was laid against Sephoris, which was now in the hands of Antigonus, the garrison surrendered without any resistance: Herod had now got the opportunity to bend his forces against the robbers, whom he put to flight, and pursu'd them over Jordan. 'Twas about this juncture, that Macheras play'd his two-headed game betwixt Herod and Antigonus, and lost his reputation on both sides.

Now when Herod was absent from Judea, and joined Anthony at the siege of Samosata, his brother Joseph managed the government in Judea, but was at last unhappily shot in a skirmish with Antigonus, who made a sally upon him from the mountains. When Herod had received the news of his brother's death, of which he was also admonished in a dream, he returns to Judea, defeats Antigonus, and carries on the victory with such a current of success, that he drove the enemy before him to Jerusalem, lays siege to the city, and after the opposition of five months, he takes it by storm. Antigonus was made prisoner, whom Sosius the Roman general led in triumph to Anthony, where he lost his head. Jerusalem being now in the hands of Herod, Cleopatra created him fresh uneasiness, and endeavoured to make a breach in the friendship betwixt him and Anthony. A prodigious earthquake happened in Judea about this time, which swallowed up thirty thousand people and innumerable cattle. The Arabians took the hint, and poured in upon them, when matters were thus in confusion. However, Herod signaled himself upon this occasion, and having harangu'd the soldiery, made forward and attacked the Arabians in their own trenches, and reduced them to that degree, that they petitioned to him for protection. When matters were in these postures, Augustus defeats Anthony at Actium, whereupon Herod makes his address to Cesar, and is confirmed in his government, with the addition of Syria. Herod's reign was now in the fifteenth year, when he rebuilt the temple with vast charge and magnificence. He also erected several temples, palaces, and spacious structures, as monuments of the memory of Anthony, Cesar, Agrippa, and his mother Cyris. From this time we may date the beginning of Herod's misery and misfortune; separate interests were set up in his family, and there was nothing but suspicion and treachery. His sons were represented as guilty of treasonable practices, which occasioned some alterations in his will: In a little time after, Herod was worn out with grief and age; however, 'twas a fever that dispatched him; and when his last agonies were just at hand, he was informed of a design formed by Antipater; upon this, he ordered his guards to kill him out of hand, and declared Archelaus his successor, and made Antipas a tetrarch, and so deceased.

Soon after his will was read publickly, which was immediately followed with loud acclamations from the soldiers and the people, Long live Archelaus. When the ceremony of mourning and fasting was over, the king published a very gracious declaration to his people, notwithstanding the rabble grew mutinous, and were just upon the point of rebellion; but the whole army overpower'd them, and made them a little more peaceable. Now because Judea and its government was dependent on the Roman power, the presence of Archelaus was necessary at Rome, to get the investiture at Cesar's hand; in his absence, he leaves Philip to represent himself, and manage matters with full power. In the mean time Sabinus comes to Jerusalem, and demands the monies which Herod had left; and Antipas takes the opportunity and sets up his own interest against Archelaus, and lays claim to the government. Whilst these matters were under debate, and Cesar in suspence, there was nothing but war and bloodshed at Jerusalem, and all over Judea; for beside the mischief which Sabinus created, in hopes to enrich himself with Herod's treasures, all the kingdom was over-run with pretenders to the crown; Judas a captain of the robbers, Simon and Athronges were of this number; and unless Varus had done good service, and signalized himself upon this occasion, the Roman interest had sunk in Judea for the present. When these commotions were something settled, and the Jews a little reduced, they petitioned Cesar for the free exercise of their religion: Cesar advises upon't, and keeps them in suspence, and settles the government; one half of it he bestowed upon Archelaus, under the title of an Ethnarchy, and the remainder he divided into two tetrarchies, which he gave to Philip and Antipas. Archelaus soon after his advancement, began to mismanage matters, and press hard both upon Jews and Samaritans; and in short, he was banish'd to Vienna for his opposition, and his goods confiscated. The estate of Archelaus being now reduc'd into a province, Cesar sent down Caponius, a Roman knight, with a full commission to govern it. At this time, one Judas, a Galilean, stirr'd up the Jews to revolt, throw off the Roman yoke, and refuse tribute. Shortly after Augustus dies, and Tiberius succeeds him, under whom Pilate is made governor of Judea. He endeavoured late one night to convey into the city the ensigns and the image of Cesar; this put the Jews into rage and tumult, being afraid of their religion, their laws and liberties; having consulted the matter, they prepared a petition to Pilate, resolving rather to die, than suffer such innovations; whereupon Pilate ordered the statues to be remov'd. This uproar was seconded by another; for Pilate having imposed a tax upon the holy treasure, called the Corban, the Jews resent-ed this at a high rate, and began to mutiny; and numbers of them being killed, they were forced to yield up the matter in debate.

debate. After the death of Tiberius, Caius Cesar succeeds, and advances Agrippa to the tetrarchy of Philip now deceased: this gave offence to Herod, and going to Caius to complain, he was banished into Spain, where he dy'd in exile. Caius Cesar sets up immediately for a God, and sends Petronius into Judea, with a commission to fix his statues in the temple; the Jews being apprehensive of his errand, met him in great numbers as far as Ptolemais, and urg'd in their own behalf, the laws and customs of their country; Petronius made the best of his commission, flourished upon the Roman power, and threatened them with slavery; notwithstanding the Jews were zealous in the cause of their religion, and moved so far upon the very humanity of Petronius, that he writ Cesar word what impediments he met with: the answer that Caius gave to this letter, was only an order to put Petronius to death; but it happened, by an extraordinary providence, that the bearers of this order were wind-bound for three months; and in the mean time came the tidings of Caius's death by a quicker passage, and twenty-seven days before the order. Upon the death of Caius Cesar, by the good offices of Agrippa, Claudius was declared Emperor; and in return for Agrippa's kindness, he fixed him in the entire kingdom of his father, together with the kingdom of Lyfania, and those other places which Augustus had given him: Agrippa by this method grew vastly in wealth and honour, and was a frugal prince. It was his enterprize the walling in of Jerusalem; and, had the works been finished, would have been a strong bar in the way of the Romans: but after a year's reign Agrippa dies at Cesarea, leaving behind him a son named Agrippa, and three daughters. Upon Agrippa's decease, Claudius reduc'd the kingdom into a province, and made Caspus Fudus governor; and after him Tiberius Alexander, who making no alterations in the laws and customs, kept the people in peace. Camanus succeeds Tiberius Alexander, as Agrippa does Herod his uncle. In the beginning of the reign of Camanus, when the Jews were assembled to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, they receiv'd a hasty affront from one of the soldiers, which occasioned an uproar, and about 1000 were trod and squeez'd to death in the press; this calamity was followed with another; for in the search of some suspected Jews, a common soldier, laying hands on the books of Moses, tore them to pieces; the Jews could not swallow this contempt that was put upon God and the law; and meeting all to a man, it was impossible to pacify them till justice was done upon the criminal. Much about the same time there happened an unfortunate difference betwixt the Jews of Galilee and those of Samaria; there was a Galilean upon his journey thro' the plain of Samaria, to Jerusalem, at the season of a solemn festival, and being murdered on the road, the Galileans leaving the solemnity, marched immediately a-

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gainst Samaria, and burnt all before them, putting man, woman, and child to the sword. At last Camanus interpos'd, and the leading men of Jerusalem went out after them in sackcloth, using all arguments to bring them off their design, and asking them if they would sacrifice Jerusalem and all that was dear to them, only to be reveng'd of one Galilean? This brought these hot-spurs to themselves, and the sit went off. After this the countries were over-run with men of prey, whereupon the Samaritans address'd themselves to Numidius Quadratus, then governor of Syria, who coming into Judea, did execution upon some of the Jews, and ordered Camanus, and Celer the tribune, away to Rome, that they might answer for themselves to Claudius; who having heard what Camanus, Celer, and the Samaritans, could say in the case, he gave sentence against them; Camanus was banish'd, and Celer was to have his head struck off, and his body drag'd thro' the streets of Jerusalem. Claudius now advances Felix to the government of Judea, Samaria, Galilee, and Perea. He preferred Agrippa from the kingdom of Chalois to the province that had been Philip's, adding also the kingdom of Lyfania, and the tetrarchy that had been Varus's. Claudius dies in the 14th year of his reign, and Nero succeeds to the Roman empire. Under this new emperor, Aristobulus had the government of Armenia the less conferr'd upon him, and the territories of Agrippa were considerably enlarged. Felix begins immediately to look after the robbers who had now infested the country for twenty years; he took Eleazar their leader, with several others, and sent them bound to Rome. The murders and mischiefs these robbers had committed were almost incredible. So soon as these ruffians were dispersed, another kind of cut-throats started up under the name of Sicarii, from the word Sica, signifying their weapon; their way was to run with the multitudes, and to stab their enemies with short daggers which they carried under their coats; and when the murder was committed, none so forward as they to wonder at the villany. Jonathan the high-priest was the first that fell by them. This put all the city into fears and tumults, because it was as dangerous to walk the streets as to be in battle. The Jews fell now into worse calamities than the former, occasioned by impostors, seducers, and pretenders to religion; they drew off the people into woods and solitudes; but Felix sent a body of horse after them, and gave them a defeat. There came also a magician from Egypt, and a prophet in pretence. he got above 30,000 at his heels, marched his followers to mount Olivet; but before he could execute his designs, Felix met him, gave him battle, and entirely routed him. The magician and robbers carried on their design with abundance of artifice, caballing how to set up absolute liberty, and free the Jews from the Roman yoke: in a little time all Judea was in a combustion.

and brought to the last extremity of desperation, betwixt dread and trouble. This commotion was heightened by another outrageous tumult, the Jews and Syrians disputed the point, whether had the better property in Caesarea, they slew in arms, which was followed with a great deal of slaughter and bloodshed, both parties being too warm upon it to come to terms of agreement. Felix, when he could not bring them to reason, commanded the faction out of the city by proclamation, and those that rebelled were made a sacrifice, and their goods were seiz'd. The debate at last was referred to Nero. Festus succeeds Felix, and his first attempt was upon the highwaymen. Albinus got the government after Festus, and proved a corrupt and tyrannical governor, tho' he was quite outdone by Jessius Florus that succeeded. Under him the Jews began to resent the slavery they were reduced to, and made their application to Cassius Gellius, governor of Syria, tho' they were handsomely shuffl'd off, and had no redress for't. Florus in the mean time did what he could to make the Jews rebel, that in the heat of the war the memory of his own offences might be lost. By this time the Caesarean Greeks had carried the cause against the Jews before Cesar, and had obtained a decree in their favour, which sentence gave rise to the Jewish war, this was concluded upon in the twelfth year of Nero. The affair of Caesarea being the source of the war we shall be more particular upon it. A certain Greek had a house in Caesarea, just in the neighbourhood of the Jewish synagogue; this was an eye-sore to the Jews; and they endeavour'd to purchase it at any price; but the man out of meer crossness, would not part with it, but blockt up the passage to the synagogue, with shops, and such like impediments: the Jews contracted with Florus for eight talents to forbid the building; he, upon the receipt of it, makes off for Sebalta, and gave them their full liberty to cut one another's throats.

The next day, being the sabbath, a spiteful Caesarean set an earthen vessel, with a sacrifice of birds upon it before the door of the synagogue, which nettled the Jews to some purpose, who finding matters ripening apace to a war, remov'd their laws to some distance, and went immediately to make their complaints to Florus; who, so soon as they reminded him of the eight talents, and told him they had removed their laws, he makes them prisoners. This action gave the signal to the Jews at Jerusalem. Florus at this time sent in Cesar's name for seventeen talents out of the treasury; upon which one of the mutineers, in mockery, went about the streets with a basket, begging broken meat for poor miserable Florus. The Jews, in this condition, met in a body before Florus, who was mounted on the tribunal, to present their grievances, and beg favour; but Florus, in a rage, order'd his soldiers to kill all they met. On this day
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there was 600 slain, and a great number of the Equestrian order were whipt and gibbeted, which was a piece of cruelty never before practised. Upon Berenice's coming up to Jerusalem to pay a vow, and finding such troubles on foot, she mov'd Florus in the favour of the Jews, who were now pretty peaceable; Florus, however, was troubl'd at it, and projects a new broil, which succeeded soon after; for the priest and princes, with the multitude, march'd out to meet the soldiers with dispositions of peace; but the soldiers taking the opportunity, fell upon them, and made a dreadful destruction. Florus in the midst of the hurry, attempted the castle, but was beaten off by the numbers that intercepted him; upon this repulse, he retir'd to the palace; and the communication being cut off betwixt fort Antonio and the temple, he gave over his design, and returned to Cæsarea, leaving a garrison, as the high-priest and the senate desir'd. Florus having the opportunity, complains of the Jews to Cestius, as Cæsar's enemies, who sends Politianus to Jerusalem to know the truth. The Jews meet him and Agrippa 60 furlongs from the city making their complaints what havock Florus had made among them; and the women made miserable out-cries for the loss of their husbands. Politianus being fully inform'd returns to Cestius, leaving Agrippa at Jerusalem, who harangued the people in publick, qualify'd their grievances, and brought them to some moderation. However, all was ineffectual, as the fire was extinguish'd in one place it burst out in another; for immediately after, Massada was surpriz'd by a party of the faction, and the garrison put to the sword. At the same time Eleazar a desperate daring young man, press'd the Jewish priests in Jerusalem to reject the customary sacrifices of the Romans. Men of the best quality were highly displeas'd with the prohibition, and endeavoured to expole the impiety and injustice of it, together with the affront which Cæsar would receive upon it: precedents and reports were consulted, and nothing was found to support the practice; however, the faction prevail'd, and the moderate men applied themselves to Florus and Agrippa for succour. It was acceptable news to Florus, who was inclin'd to foment and inflame the war. Agrippa notwithstanding, for his own interest sent troops to Jerusalem; and, upon their arrival, the war broke out in the city; the dispute lasted ten days with great slaughter on both sides; but upon the festival of Xylophoria, the king's troops were worsted, and the faction leaving the upper town, laid all before them in ashes; the records and the offices were all burnt, that the creditors had nothing to shew for their money; so that the beggars and debtors were effectually brought over to the rebels. The nobility and persons of quality were forc'd to hide themselves in sinks and vaults. The day following the faction laid siege to Antonia, and took it, cutting the garrison to pieces, and afterwards set fire to the place, where Agrippa's troops had taken

sanctuary; in a little time they undermin'd and over-turn'd the Turret, whereupon the king's people beg leave to depart, which favour was only granted to them. The Romans left behind were quite dispirited, their camp was burnt and they pursued and slain in the places of safety. The day after, Ananias and Hezekiah were taken out of sinks, and dispatched by the Sicarii. Manahem, who had headed the faction, now sets up for a prince; but in the midst of his hopes, he's surpriz'd and put to death. After this, there was a treaty ratify'd upon oath, and articles betwixt Eleazar and Metilias the Roman general; but when (according to compact) they came to deliver up their swords and shields, Eleazar's guards broke in upon them and slew them; Metilias only escaping upon promise of Judaizing, and being circumcised. This outrage was an evident prologue to the destruction of the Jews; for the loss of these troops out of such vast armies which the Romans were masters of was insignificant. Upon the very same day and hour (as divine providence would have it) there was a massacre of above 20 000 Jews at Cesarea, so that not a Jew was left; and those that fled, Florus pickt up and sent them in chains to the galleys; this butchery alarm'd the Jews, who dispersed themselves into several bodies, laying all the bordering cities waste: at this juncture the Syrians began to make reprisals upon the Jews; so that the days were entirely spent in slaughter, and the nights in fear. When the Jews were advanced upon the borders of Scythopolis they found the very Jews in that quarter their enemies. The inhabitants of Scythopolis having sent out their scouts one night, they got intelligence that the Jews lay exposed, and in a careless posture; upon this news they made a sally and cut all off, to the number of 13,000, seized the pillage and went their way. After this example, 2500 of them were slain in Ascalon, 2000 in Ptolemais, and more ty'd in chains. In a short while after, the rebels got possession of the castle of Cyprus, put the garrison to the sword, and demolished the place. Afterwards they forced the Roman garrison at Macherus to surrender.

These outrages being upon the wheel, the Jews and the Greeks in Alexandria happened to disagree; and Tiberias finding the uproar could not be laid without mischief, he turned his whole army loose upon the Jews; and 'tis certain that death and destruction never appeared in such dreadful shapes; the confusion being a little over, there were 50,000 dead bodies piled up on a heap, the place all flowing with gore.

The Jews at this time a day were rendered extremely hateful, and the power of the Romans appeared more and more formidable. Cestius and Agrippa join vast forces together; they immediately marched their troops to Zebulon the strongest city of Galilee, which they found deserted. Then Cestius returned to Ptolemais, and sent a detachment to Joppa, with orders

to attack the place upon the least resistance from the Jews, which was accordingly performed, the people were slain to the number of 84,000, and the place was reduced to ashes. The like was done in the toparchy of Narbertane, where the country was laid waste, the inhabitants slain, and their cities reduced to ashes. The Romans were now grown too hard for the free booters, and Cestius advances with his army to Antipatris, burns Lydda, and encamps within 50 furlongs of Jerusalem; but the Jews making a sally on the sabbath-day, Cestius and the whole army were endangered; however, the Jews were forced to retreat, and make their way back to the city, till the Romans began to draw off, and then they fell furiously on their rear, kill'd several, and seiz'd their carriages. The Romans being repulsed, Agrippa propounds an alliance, and sends Borceus and Phebus to manage the treaty; but the Jews rise upon it, and kill Phebus, tho' Borceus got off with his wounds: this affront provokes Cestius, he falls upon the faction, routed them, and pursued them up to the very walls of Jerusalem, where he had a fair opportunity of taking the city, the gates being offered to him; but slipping the critical season, the Jews gather'd courage, and defended the walls with bravery. The Romans, upon this extremity, invented a way to cover their pioneers from the fury of the enemy, by joining buckler to buckler; but all would not do, Cestius quits the siege, and the enemy falls upon the rear, and gives the Romans a dreadful blow; and had they not wanted day-light, they had given the Romans a fatal overthrow. Cestius shrunk away in the night, and his soldiers, being something in haste, they dropt all their machines, slings, and other instruments of war, which they afterwards made use of against the Romans. The more considerable of the Jews were apprehensive of a storm, and quitted Jerusalem. Now the news of the last defeat had spread as far as Damascus, where the Jews were surprized by stratagem, and 10,000 of them had their throats cut in one hour. The Jews having now a little respite, they make a reform in their government: Joseph, the son of Gorion, and Ananus the high-priest, were chosen officers in civil affairs, and the rebuilding the walls was recommended to their care. They sent Jasus, the son of Sapphas, and Eleazar, son of the new high-priest, as commanders, into Idumea. Joseph the son of Simon, was dispatch'd into Jericho, Manasses beyond the river, and John the Essene, to Thamna, John, the son of Ananias, was made governor of Gophnitis and Acrabatine. Joseph, the son of Matthias, governor of both the Galilees. This Joseph, when he came into Galilee, made sure of the hearts of his subjects; he chose the council of seventy out of the elders and best men of the nation: seven of the judges were sent into every city, to determine all common causes; but the capital was reserved for himself. His next piece of policy

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licy was to wall in all the defensible cities, and regulate his forces after the Roman discipline. His army was numerous enough in a short time, consisting of 60,000 foot, 2500 horse, and 45,000 mercenaries, with 600 select men for the guard of his own person. The conduct of Joseph was very just; tho' he was much troubl'd with the underhand dealing of that John of Gischala, who' in the end this John, with Saphoris, Gamala, and Fiberais, goes over to the enemy. Galilee was now at peace; but the high-priest, and the great men of Jerusalem, were rebuilding the walls, and procuring all sorts of military instruments and machines, the city had death now in the very face of it, before the Romans came there. The Roman empire was not a little out of order at this time, the disaster of Cestius in Judea had struck a damp upon the spirits of Nero tho' he carry'd off the fit with stomach and ambition, as if he had been perfectly exempted from the common accidents of human life, and quite above the inquietudes of fortune. Vespasian was then pitch'd upon for the government of Syria, he immediately sends Titus his son for Alexandria, and makes strait into Syria himself, where the Roman troops and auxiliaries came to rendezvous. The defeat of Cestius had made the Jews very bold and insolent, so that they thought it long till they came to blows with the Romans, upon which they advance to Ascalon, where the bodies were soon after engaged, and the Jews totally routed, 10,000 of them being kill'd on the spot. Upon this occasion the Jews half mad, betwixt a desponding sorrow and a thirst of revenge, make towards the Romans, but falling into an ambush of Anthony's, 8000 of them were slain; the Romans now put fire to the castle of Ascalon, where Niger, the Jewish general, was block'd up; but Niger, leaping off the top of the castle into a deep vault, made his escape very providentially, to the great encouragement of the Jews. When the victory was over, Vespasian marched his army to Antioch, where Agrippa joined him with his troops; he went thence for Ptolemais, where the inhabitants of Sephoris were expecting him; he gave them a garrison, and their city being large, and well fortify'd it was of great importance to have it in good hands. Galilee at this time was all covered with fire and blood, the calamity was general, and nothing left to trust to but the town that Joseph had walled in. Titus had now joined his father Vespasian, with the troops he brought from Alexandria; with these recruits Vespasian marches into Galilee; and upon his approach, Joseph is abandon'd by his men; and being forced to consult his own security, he withdraws to Tiberias. Vespasian in the mean time took Gadara by assault, and the Romans put all to the sword. Joseph, under some discontent, remits it to the council of Jerusalem, whether to fight or treat; If the former, they must send him an army to give battle to the Romans; whilst the express

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was going, he slipt away out of Tiberias into Jotapata; but a deserter giving Vespasian notice; he resolved upon the siege of that place, where the Jews and the Romans maintained a fight for five days successively, without deciding the victory. Abundance of mischief was committed on both sides; and the water growing scarce in the city, the Jews were put out of patience; however, many parcels of cloths were hung upon the battlements dropping wet, which kept their weak side from the knowledge of the Romans. Matters were now brought to the last extremity; and the Jews taking courage once more, made excursions upon the enemy for four days together, which gall'd the Romans very much. Vespasian upon this, bids his men give over the assault, because the Jews were desperate, fighting for their lives, while the Romans only took up arms to extend their dominions: but the Jews persisting in their humour, Vespasian renews the attack, the rams and engines were all set at work; the Jews having recourse to fire, made a strange work with it among the machines of the Romans: Vespasian received a slight wound in his ankle, which enraged his men to that degree, that they push'd on the assault with double fury, continued the fight all night; and great numbers of brave men were slain; the Roman engines, about break of day, made a breach in the wall, the sacks and hides which the Jews had placed for defence, doing them no more service; however, with their bodies and arms together, they made good the breach before the enemy could pass the ditch. The Roman army having refresh'd, Vespasian order'd the attack to be renew'd, which occasion'd a bloody conflict, the Romans advancing, under the cover of their bucklers, to the walls; the Jews poured scalding oil upon them, Vespasian ordered platforms to be rais'd, whence they play'd upon the besieged with great advantage; in short, the Jews were oblig'd to quit the breach, after a brave resistance, fatigu'd with duty and over-watch'd. At the time when the Romans entered the city, there fell such a mist, that the Jews could not see about them, and so were surprized; 40,000 men were slain in this siege, the city raz'd, and the castles burnt. About the close of this siege of Jotapata, Trajan was sent to reduce Joppa, the people met him on the way, gave him battle, and were routed making their flight to the first inclosure; and the gates being shut against them, they were miserably slaughtered. Titus came up to join Trajan, they mounted the walls, entered the town, and slew in the city, and in the first encounter, to the number of 15,000, besides 1300 prisoners. The Samaritans at the same time were meditating a rebellion upon mount Gerizim, and Vespasian dispatch'd Cerealis to take care of them, who offered them an indemnity; which being rejected every man of them was put to the sword, to the number of 11,600. Joseph, it seems, after Jotapata was taken, had the good fortune to make his

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his escape into a deep vault, where he found forty eminent persons concealed, but was betrayed by a woman. Vespasian sent twice to him, and gave him assurance of being treated very honourably; at last, Nicanor, his old acquaintance, came to him; and after a long suspense, he resolved to surrender himself up to the Romans: but first addressing himself to Almighty God to this effect: Great God, says he, sure it is thy blessed will to depress the Jews, and exalt the Romans, and to make me the instrument to foretel thy purpose: I submit myself to thy providence, and to the acceptance of my life, upon condition of surrendring myself up to the Romans: but in the presence of thy Sacred Majesty, I do likewise declare, that I do it as the minister of thy good pleasure, and not as the betrayer of my country. Joseph now gives himself up to Nicanor, and all his companions came running up to him with clamorous invectives, drawing their swords and threatening to kill him that instant, if he submitted to the Romans. Whereupon Joseph expostulates the matter with them at large, and argues very copiously against the sin of self-murder: his speech was to this purpose; If, says he, the Romans have a mind to spare an enemy, shall that enemy be so cruel as not to spare himself? 'Tis nothing but the fear of death that keeps us from going up to the Romans; and shall we cast ourselves into a certain death one way, for fear of an uncertain death another? Besides, the principle of self-preservation is implanted in all living creatures; and for any thing to destroy itself, is contrary to nature, and consequently, a sacrilegious wickedness against God himself. No creature seeks to destroy itself contrary to the universal impulse. Farther, the soul is God's depositum, and shall we presume to rob the Divine Majesty, and come off without either discovery or punishment? The laws of our constitution have provided sufficiently against self-murder: he that kills himself is not allow'd burial till after sunset. Tho' if nothing will serve us but dying, let us fall by the hands of those that have master'd us; I am not for fooling away my life. And put the case, that the Romans should prove treacherous, the baseness of the perfidy will in some measure comfort us, when we consider that the authors of our ruin have made themselves infamous and odious to eternity.

When he had said this, and more, the Jews would not be reclaim'd from the barbarous resolution of destroying both him and themselves; Joseph determines at last to put his life to the hazard: well, says he, since you are resolv'd upon death, let us cast lots one after another for our lives; and he upon whom the lot falls, shall be kill'd by the next man; this will prevent self murder; besides, 'twere unreasonable when some part of us are dead, that the rest should repent and escape. This expedient pleas'd them, and they fell to work upon't, dying successively as the lots fell upon them, till at last there was only Joseph

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and one more remaining; hereupon Joseph told him, that if they cast lots again, the one of them must die: this prevail'd upon his companion to live. After this, Joseph is conducted by Nicanor to Vespasian, and Titus entertains a very high esteem of him. Joseph foretels the succession of Vespasian and Titus to the empire, which got him a considerable reputation; tho' he was kept under restraint, he was treated notwithstanding very honourably with courtesy and respect. Joppa was now grown a perfect den of thieves and mutineers, who were very busy about fortifying the place; but Vespasian being informed what they were a doing, sent a body of horse and foot against them, who making their entrance in the night, surpriz'd the inhabitants at such a rate, that they run all aboard in a hurry, and lay all that night off at sea, something more than a flight shot from the town. But while they were riding in this station, there arose a furious storm, call'd the Black north; this wind battered their vessels to pieces one against another, and shipwreck'd them upon rocks, that in a little time there were 42,000 bodies cast up with the tide. The late action at Jotapata was not believ'd at Jerusalem, seeing there was not a man left to carry the news; however, so soon as they were certainly informed of it, and that Joseph was living, and in credit with the Romans, they conceived the most venomous envy and hatred of him, and were also transported with greater rage against the Romans, as if their wreaking their malice upon them were the readiest way to be revenged on Joseph. After this, Agrippa treats Vespasian and his army 20 days at Cesarea Philippi, where bad news arrived at Tiberias and Tariche (both of them dependencies on the kingdom of Agrippa) that the former was revolted, and the other was wavering; hereupon Vespasian orders some troops to Scythopolis, and encamps at Enabris, within sight of the rebels; here Valerian receives instructions to go and speak them fair; but the faction fell upon Valerian by surprize, who made his escape on foot, with only five men, leaving their horses a booty for the rebels. The more moderate men in the city being apprehensive of a revenge, go out immediately to the Roman camp, to throw themselves at Vespasian's feet for mercy, who pardons the affront at the instance of Agrippa. In the mean time the faction thought that the city would shortly be too hot for them, and so slipt away to Jarichees. Vespasian upon this march'd up to the city, and was received with acclamations. The affairs of Tiberias being settled, Vespasian encamps betwixt that place and Tanrich, which was a place of strength, and situate on the lake of Genezareth; while the Roman camp was erecting, the faction poured in upon them, under the command of Jesus; but were soon beaten off, and pursued to the lake, where there lay a fleet of armed boats to receive the retreat; immediately upon this there appear'd a vast body of

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Jews on the next plain, and Titus was sent out to look after them, who finding himself mightily over number'd, stands upon an eminence, and makes a very exquisite discourse to his soldiers, wherein he represented the courage and discipline of his men, with the signal victories they had all along been accustom'd to; these advantages, he told them, answered sufficiently to the inequality of their numbers. Neither did he omit the want of discipline and order among the Jews; that they were too numerous, and consequently unwieldy. He inspired them with hopes of victory, before any reinforcements could come up to their assistance from the camp, so that they should have no sharers in the conquest. This harangue dispos'd the Roman soldiers with pure heroism on the sudden: so they charg'd in upon the body of the Jews, who were soon disordered; the Romans rode over them, tumbled them one upon another, and made a dreadful havock among them; those of the Jews, that had the opportunity made the best of their way into the city, where they began to squabble and disagree among themselves. Titus understood the matter, and having harangued his men afresh, upon the present occasion, he entered the town, and carry'd all before him: and so soon as the faction was destroyed he gave quarter to the natives. When this great action was over, Titus sent an express to his father with the news, and ordered vessels to be built and dispatched in pursuit of those that had got off. When the boats were equipt, Vespasian goes aboard himself, and encounters the Jews upon the lake, where they were all slain, or over-turned and drown'd; so that there was nothing to be seen but death and destruction in all the varieties of horror. The number of the slain in both actions was 6500 persons. When the engagement was ended, Vespasian held a council, what the prisoners that were strangers should be done with; and this was the conclusion: that 12,000, who were unable to bear arms, should be put to death; and 6000 of the strongest bodied men were to be sent to Nero at the Isthmus; and 30,400 sold for slaves.

About this time Gamala revolts; this city was erected on a rock that rises out of a high mountain. This place had been reckoned upon as impregnable, both upon the account of its natural situation, and the trenches and defences that were run about it. Vespasian resolves upon the siege, advances up to the place, and shortly after takes it by assault; but was forced out of it again with terrible loss. This was the severest blow that ever the Romans had receiv'd: and, to make the best on't, Vespasian supports his men with the following speech: well, says he, since misfortunes cannot be avoided, let them be generously born; and it is not for one sort of men to expect an exemption from the common lot of mankind. Whoever considers the nature of war, will find, that victory is not to be gain'd without

without blood; and that fortune is variable; and, that this loss is but a reprisal for the many thousands of the Jews that we have slain before. Consider, says he, how insensibly the changes pass from one extreme to the other, and that no man is truly great, but he that stands his ground, and keeps up the same dignity of mind in all conditions, correcting the malignity of the one by the prudence of the other. He concluded the speech with telling them plainly, that the miscarriage was entirely owing to their own eagerness; in pushing the advantage over far; and that every man had this satisfaction in his own power, if he would but apply himself, and so revenge the death of his friends upon the heads of those that destroy'd them. This discourse of Vespasian's gave new life to his army. In the mean time, there was a considerable body of Jews in rebellion upon mount Itaber; Vespasian having notice of it, sent Placidus to suppress them; but the mountain being inaccessible, Placidus allures down the Jews, falls upon them, and put them to the sword. The inhabitants of Gamala all the while made a stout defence, tho' the fall of a tower struck them with a panick fear; before the surprize was worn off, Titus comes up to the siege, enters the town, where nothing was to be seen or heard of but death in all forms, and the streets flowing with blood. The next attempt of Vespasian, was upon the castle; and having planted his men, upon a rock above the Jews, they made a dreadful slaughter among them; the very wind drove the Roman arrows full in the face of the Jews; while those of the Jews either screw'd by the mark, or dropt short. In the midst of this confusion, there were, that cast themselves with their wives and children down the precipice from the tower, to the number of 5000, that of the slain being only 4000, so much more merciful were the Romans to the Jews, than the Jews were to themselves. After the overthrow of Gamala, there was one labour more remaining, which would compleat the Roman conquests over all Galilee, and this was the reducing Gischala; the inhabitants of which were seduced by a notorious impostor, whose name was Joseph: Titus was sent upon this errand; and when matters were just coming to a battle, he freely offered them peace, and an amnesty of what had past, with the exercise of their own religion, if they'd be subject to the Roman power. John of Gischala seemingly accepts the offer; but puts off the treaty, and escapes in the night with several considerable men of the town. The inhabitants that were left behind, were now in a very miserable distress and confusion; however, they receive Titus into the city, and are treated very mercifully. John of Gischala by this time gets safe into Jerusalem, where he cover'd his flight with lies and flourishes; but all the people of experience and foresight saw quite thro' the pretence. Jerusalem was now all over-pester'd with broils and tumults; and because the gates

gates were always open to the Jews, there were two bodies of thieves and robbers that got into the city, where they plunder'd and destroy'd all before them, putting the most eminent persons to death whom they had taken prisoners; they got also into the temple, pillaging all they could find, creating high-priests at pleasure, and levelling their impieties against God himself. These outrages touched the priests very sensibly, who stood by as spectators of the wickedness. The people, upon this, bend their thoughts upon revenge; Gorion and Simon do their utmost to carry on their design; Jesus and Ananus are as forward as any to throw of the yoke; the latter was the high-priest, and being at that time in the middle of the croud, and and casting many a sorrowful look towards the temple with tears in his eyes, Why did I not rather die, says he, than live to see the house of God thus polluted and prophaned; and the wickedest of men promiscuously rush into those sacred places of privilege, that were only reserved for the high-priest? Why do I live and see all this? In my sacerdotal robes too, and the name of God written on my fore-head! What have I to do more under my circumstances, than to give up my life to God and my duty? After all these sufferings, one upon the neck of another, can you have the patience now to see your holy altar prophaned, and your religion exposed to scorn, without shewing some resentment worthy of your profession? They are possessed of the strongest place in the city; and that which you call the temple, serves them only as an impregnable castle, maintain'd against you, and will you bear this always? I am sure you never inherited this abject temper from your ancestors; witness the many and dangerous wars they underwent against the Medes and Egyptians, to assert their freedom. Ananus was very particular in this speech, telling them, that the Romans had more humanity than the Zealots, who were their own countrymen; and adding, That if they should all of them fall in the contest, with these ravagers, there could nothing be more glorious than to lay down their lives at the gates of the temple, for the honour of God, and in the service of his holy house and cause; as for the conduct of the enterprize, he assured them, they should have his heart, hand, example, and advice, along with them. This discourse irritated the people, and made them very eager to engage the faction; matters came to an engagement immediately; and at last the Zealots were over powered by the people, and made their retreat into the temple; and being driven out of the first court they got into the second enclosure; tho' Ananus would not pollute the temple with blood and violence, only upon the porches of the temple he fixt 6000 choice men to keep matters quiet. John of Gischala was very busy on both sides at this juncture, carrying news to the Zealots of what pass'd in the councils of Ananus. However, out of some malicious design, he

informed

informed the faction, that Ananus had prevailed with the people to send deputies to Vespasian, and invite him to come and take possession of the city; this lie was followed with advice that was extremely pernicious; he told them that unless they would call in some foreign assistance, they were now in the extremity of danger. Upon this occasion the Zealots writ to the Idumeans to this effect.

Finding that Ananus, having first seduc'd the people, has design'd the betraying of Jerusalem to the Romans; we have retir'd into the temple in defence of the common liberty, where we are now besieged, and upon the point of falling into the hands of Ananus, and the rest of our enemies, and the city itself into the hands of the Romans, without immediate relief.

The letter was no sooner read, than the request was granted, in a levy of near 20,000 men to their assistance, which immediately begins their march to Jerusalem, under the command of John and James, the sons of Sofas; Simon the son of Calthas; and Phineas the son of Chusoth. Ananus knew nothing of the deputation from the Zealots to the Idumeans; however, he was better informed of their approach, and ordered the gates to be shut up, and the walls well guarded; but no act of hostility, till he first try'd the force of reason and fair words; so that Jesus mounted a tower over against the Idumeans, and spoke to this purpose: that of all the calamities that ever beset Jerusalem, it amazed him most, that the Idumeans should join with a band of miscreants against the city. He told them what outrages the faction had committed: that 'twas an arrant falsehood, the report they had got amongst them, that Jerusalem was ready to revolt to the Romans. He desired them to assist the people, and extirpate those tyrannical masters of the faction, that had trod their laws under foot. The speech was ended with telling them, That it was unreasonable the gates should be opened till they laid down their arms. This discourse nettled the Idumeans, and Simon, the son of Calthas, stands up, excuses the rebels, and tells them plainly, That they were resolved on the siege, till either the Romans rescued them, or they in a better humour to return back to duty and obedience.

So soon as these speeches were exchanged between the parties, there was no time lost, the Idumeans made up directly to the walls. While they were in this posture, the night following there blew a dreadful tempest of wind and rain, accompanied with such terrible earthquakes, flashes of lightning, and tearing claps of thunder, as put all people to their wits-end to think what all these prodigies might portend. Ananus and his party thought it was a declaration from heaven in his favour; but the event shewed them to be false prophets. The Idumeans, in the mean time, cover themselves with their bucklers from the storm, The Zealots were hard at it all the while, how

how they might secure their friends ; and it happened by a just providence, that when the faction made their escape out of the temple, Ananus was gone off to refresh himself, and all the guards upon the gates of the temple were fast asleep. The Zealots had now this project in their heads, to destroy the bolts and bars of the city gates, which was performed accordingly. The Idumeans entered the city, join'd the Zealots, and made such a merciless massacre, that there was a torrent of blood running round the Temple ; and by the time 'twas day-light, they reckoned 85,000 dead bodies upon the place. They made it their chief business to wreak their malice on the high-priests ; and as soon as they found them, Ananus and Jesus had their heads cut off, and their bodies trampled upon. This Ananus was so religious and great a man, that from his death we might date the ruin of Jerusalem ; and Jesus had the good fortune to excel others as far as he himself was out-done by Ananus. The cruelty of the Idumeans was not satisfy'd with the deaths of these two great men, the slaughter grew more hot, and in a little time after, there were twelve thousand men of quality that had lost their lives. When these monsters had glutted themselves with this bare-fac'd method of murder, they set up a mock court of justice, that they might dispatch them under the pretence of the law. Zachary fell under the severity of this judicature ; he was the son of Baruck, and a man of the first rank ; but the Zealots, tho' his innocence was as clear as the sun, exhibited a formal charge against him, for being concern'd in the conspiracy to betray the city to the Romans. He made a very honourable defence, and the whole court acquitted him ; but after all, he was inhumanely murder'd in the temple by the rabble. By this time the Idumeans were disgusted with the proceedings ; and, in short, began to curse the hour of their coming to give assistance to the faction ; this displeasure was heightn'd by one of the Zealots who became penitent, and discovered the practice from the beginning ; which had such effect upon the Idumeans, that they set all their prisoners at liberty, left the city, and returned home. When the Zealots saw themselves forsaken, they grew insolent upon it, in confidence of their own strength. They put Gorion and Niger of Perea, to death, who were men of great worth ; and these impediments being removed, they practis'd all kinds of cruelty ; nothing could be seen or heard but trials and executions. These tumults, and the present distress of the Jews in Jerusalem, were not kept secret from the knowledge of Vespasian, and his officers press'd hard upon him to improve the opportunity, and fall upon them in the midst of their disorders among themselves. The speech of Vespasian upon this occasion being so remarkable for moderation and temper, that it deserves a place ; his answer runs thus : that their bravery was more than their policy ; for says he, to

attack

attack the city hand over head, would be the ready way to make them all friends again; whereas, if we do wait a little time with patience, they'll do the business to our hands in spending their numbers and spirits one upon another; for God does better for us than we could do for ourselves, in delivering up the Jews to the Romans without labour or peril, and giving us victory without so much as a battle. Are they not already up to the ears in a civil war, and cutting throats among themselves like so many mad men? And who but a mad man then, will enter into a needless contest with mad men, and run a risque of bearing part in the tragedy, when he may do his business better in the quality of a spectator? these people, I tell you, are not headed, and rather than not be destroy'd, they'll kill one another. Now as to the prudence and honour of the matter in question, if they have a mind to weary one another, why should we hinder them? nor is there any reputation to be gotten by a victory that was rather cast upon us by the faction on the one side, than gain'd by the valour of the other: and this is effectually the truth of the case.

This discourse of Vespasian satisfy'd his officers; and in the mean time deserters came over daily from the Zealots to the Romans, tho' all the passages were guarded; and those that were taken, unless they had money to redeem them, executed forthwith. The Zealots had now lost all sense of religion, and trampil'd upon all that was sacred among men, and trified with divinity, making no more account of the oracles of the prophets, than of so many dreams and follies. However they had a traditional prophecy handed down to them from antiquity, That in time to come there should break out a violent sedition in Jerusalem; and the Jews themselves with their own hands, should profane the holy temple; the city to be afterwards taken, and all that was sacred, belonging to it, laid in ashes. The Zealots made no doubt of the authority of this prophecy, and put their own helping hands to the execution of it.

John of Gafchala now sets up for sovereign power, which was a freak he had entertain'd a long time in his head; he was a man of an imperious humour, a ready wit, and an excellent speaker. At this time the faction divides into Zealots and Anti-Zealots; and John sides with the latter.

Jerusalem being at this time labouring under three dreadful judgments, war, tyranny, and sedition; tho' war was reckoned the worst; and therefore the people quitted their habitations and fled to strangers for sanctuary, and found that safety and protection among the Romans, which they could not obtain from one another.

These judgments were followed by a fourth, which contributed more to the destruction of the Jews than any of the rest; 'twas the surprize of Massada by a band of bravo's call'd the Sicarii;

carii; these cut-throats being safe in this strong hold, did a world of mischief by murder and robbery; and, in short they laid all Judea waste, taking Engaddi by storm, at the feast of unleavened bread, and put all to the sword they could meet with. The Jews being so gall'd at home by one another, they apply themselves to Vespasian for relief, who in a generous tenderness for the cause and condition of an unhappy people, advances with his army nearer the city, not, as 'twas imagined, to lay a close siege to it; but upon a prospect of delivering them from any siege at all, by reducing all strong holds about it in the first place, so as to leave no impediment in the way to thwart him in his design. Vespasian being now on the road, comes up to Gadara, a strong town beyond Jordan; and, upon his approach, the leading men send deputies to him, with an invitation to take the place into his protection. Hereupon the faction within the walls thought the place would be too warm for them in a little time, and so betook themselves to their heels, putting Dolefus (the first man in the city for blood and merit) to death, before they went off. Vespasian being conducted into the town with gratulatory exclamations; and having received from the inhabitants the oath of fidelity, and other common assurances of that nature, he gave them a garrison of horse and foot for their safeguard, and sent away Placidus after the fugitives, while he, with the rest of his troops, went back to Cesarea. The fugitives finding themselves pursued, and the Roman horse at their heels, they turned off into a village, called Bethennabris, and before Placidus could come up to the place, they had gathered together a company of stout young fellows, and so made a very desperate sally upon the Romans; but after a short engagement, they were broken and slaughtered at such an unmerciful rate, that few or none could make their escape to the town. When these were entirely routed, Placidus gave a very vigorous assault to the place, and followed it so close, that he made himself master both of the wall and the village that afternoon. The common people, that had no means of defence, were all put to the sword; and, to finish the calamity, the houses were pillaged, and the village laid in ashes: Those who escaped by flight, spread their terror all along as they pass'd the inhabitants quitting their habitations, and retiring in prodigious numbers to Jericho; Placidus, in the course of his good fortune, pursued them to the river Jordan, putting every creature to the sword that was overtaken in the way. When the fugitives came to the river, it proved impassable, by reason of the rains; so that they were reduced to a fatal necessity of fighting, where they were soon worsted, and some reckon upon 15,000 killed upon the place, and 2000 taken. This disaster was the greatest the Jews had ever yet received: the high-ways were cover'd with dead bodies, and the river Jordan choak'd up with carcases,

besides

besides vast numbers that floated down several channels into the lake Asphaltis. After Placidus had given them this overthrow, he reduced Abila, Julias, Besemoth, and other places as far as the lake, which also he clear'd of the fugitives that fled there for refuge; so that the Romans at this time were absolute masters of all beyond Jordan, as far as Macherus. While matters were thus managed in Judea, news came that Gaul had revolted. Vespasian, upon this intelligence, began to push on the present war, concluding, that if the troubles in the last were first compos'd, Italy would have the less to fear. His first march was from Cesarea to Antipatris, where he laid all the neighbour hood waste with fire and sword, together with the borders of the toparchy of Tamma, and thence to Lydia and Jamnia. In the two towns of Idumea, Bethabari and Caphartoba, he slew upwards of 10,000, reserving near a 1000 for slaves. Thence he took his march towards Jericho, which he found forsaken and desolate. Vespasian was now fixing his measures to invest Jerusalem; but while he was advancing his army against the city, news was brought him of the death of Nero; whereupon he put a stop to his expedition, till he might be inform'd what became of the Roman empire after Nero's decease; and finding the succession settled upon Galba, he thought it was not yet time to move forward, so that he sent his son Titus immediately away to Galba both to congratulate his accession to the empire, and to receive his instructions and commands what measures to take. King Agrippa put himself aboard with Titus; but being on their passage near Achia, they heard that Galba was slain. Titus, upon this news, returned to his father at Cesarea, and Agrippa prosecuted his journey to Rome. This revolution put matters to a stand, and for the present there was no talk of the Jewish war. Upon this occasion a new fire broke out in Jerusalem. Simon of Garufa, an ill man, made head against Ananus; but being worsted, fled to Massada, and join'd himself to the Sicarii, who found him a person fit for their purpose; soon after, he received the news that Ananus was dead, and thereupon took his course into the woods, issuing out proclamations of liberty to all slaves, and rewards to freemen that would come and lift themselves in his party; this practice got him a considerable body of licentious people. By this provision of men and necessaries, every body was positive, that his main design was upon Jerusalem; the Zealots were of the same mind, and made one single attempt upon him, to try whether they were able to prevent him in the progress of his ambition; but after they had charged him in a full body, there were abundance of them slain, and the rest put to the rout. Simon thought he was not yet strong enough to meddle with Jerusalem, and therefore begins with Idumea; but the inhabitants meeting him on the borders, it came to a battle, which lasted from morning till night,

and

and having both enough of it, Simon drew off, and the Idumeans went home. Afterwards the garrison of Herodian received him upon summons, and all Idumea was shortly after put into his hands without blood; which was occasioned by the treachery of James, a commander in the Idumean army, who being sent to spy out the strength of Simon, entered into articles with him, to deliver Idumea into his hands without a stroke: whereupon he makes his return, and puts all Idumea into a panick fear with the forces and the power of Simon, so that all Idumea, with Chebron the chief city, and the country about it, were laid waste and became an easy prey to Simon. The Zealots had it not now in their power to bring it to an open war, all the mischief they did him, was only by reprisal; and in one of their attempts of this nature, they took Simon's wife with several domesticks, and carry'd her off to Jerusalem, never doubting but Simon would make some composition for her liberty; but they found themselves mistaken; Simon went immediately up to the gates of the city, and there, like a wild beast, vented his choler upon men, women, and children, that only went out of the town to gather sticks and herbs; some he caus'd to be whipt to death, and cut off the hands of a great many more for a terror to their enemies, sending them to the town in this miserable condition, with these words in their mouths, That Simon swore by the grace of God, who governs the universe, if they would not immediately send him his wife again, he would force their walls, and put every creature in the town to the same extremity, whether they were young or old, guilty or innocent. These menaces wrought upon the multitude, and the Zealots returned him his wife, which pacified his wrath a little, and gained some respite. While the Jews were thus unhappily at war among themselves, the Roman empire was torn to pieces with faction, and civil broils; for after Galba was deposed, and Otho declared his successor, Vitellius starts up, who being elected emperor of the German Legions, disputes his title with Otho. Two engagements happened betwixt them, and Otho carried it the first day, and Vitellius the next. Vespasian was grown weary by this time with the cessation of arms, and so begins to move afresh, proposing to himself a thorough conquest of all Judea. He was soon master of the toparchies of Gophnis and Arcabatana, taking in the cities of Bethel and Ephraim. His next remove was toward Jerusalem, where he took and killed a world of Jews by the way. While Vespasian was on his march, Cerealis a principal officer, with a body of horse and foot, over-run the upper Idumea, laying siege to Capharis, a walled town; but the inhabitants would not endure an investment, they opened the gates, and threw themselves at his feet for mercy and protection. After this he laid Chebron in ashes, putting the people to the sword. So that Vespasian wanted

wanted nothing now to put an end to this terrible war but the taking of Jerusalem. Simon of whom before, began now to wreak his malice and cruelty on the remainder of the Idumeans, who in despair fled to Jerusalem for sanctuary; but were pursued by Simon to the foot of the wall, who slew all that came within his reach; so that Simon without the city was a worse enemy than the Romans; and the Zealots within worse than both, who were guilty of all the inhumane lusts, and unlawful liberties that can be thought of; which gave such a disgust to the Idumean fugitives, that they revolted, and it came to a battle betwixt them and the Zealots; great numbers of the latter were slain upon the spot, and the rest fled into the palace royal; but the Idumeans pushing in along with them, drove the Zealots into the temple and made a booty of the whole mass of John's treasure. A council was called upon this occasion, wherein it was determined to cast off John, and invite Simon to the government: so that to get rid of one tyrant they threw themselves at the feet of another. However, Simon is received into the city with shouts and acclamations; so soon as he was got within the walls, he made an assault upon John in the temple; but with great loss, was forced back again, the Zealots having so disposed their engineers, archers, and slingers, in turrets, that there was no coming at them. While the Jews were thus miserably harass'd and destroyed among themselves, there was a civil war at Rome. Vitellius having return'd from Germany with a prodigious multitude of foreign troops, Vespasian having laid waste all about Jerusalem, goes back to Cesarea, where he meets with the news that Vitellius was advanced to the empire; it was sore against his stomach to own Vitellius for his master, who had taken the empire as a prey: and his own soldiers met in cabals about this matter, resenting the affront at a high rate, thinking Vespasian in himself was as much superior to Vitellius, with respect to the character of an emperor, as themselves were above those that had advanc'd him: and to make short with it, the officers were also nettled at it: whereupon Macianus presses Vespasian very hard to march against Vitellius; who approves of the proposal; but is rather for marching through Alexandria, and securing both that and Egypt in his way, where he is declared emperor, and the people take the oath of fidelity, and receive him as their prince. The news of Vespasian's advancement flew like lightning, and gave universal satisfaction. Vespasian now remembered the prophecy of Joseph, who had treated him in the stile of emperor, while Nero was living; and what a shame it is for me now, says Vespasian, to treat the minister, and messenger of God, that brought me tidings of my preferment, at the scandalous rate of a prisoner. The reflection was no sooner over, but Joseph was immediately sent for, and set at liberty, his chains, at the request of Titus, being broken; so that he

not only obtained his liberty but the reputation of a great prophet.

Vespasian now quits the thoughts of Alexandria, where matters were pretty quiet and makes towards Rome, taking Antioch in his way; but in the mean time Macianus and Antonius Primus, were detach'd for Italy, with a numerous army, and Cecinna, a general of Vitellius's meets the forces of Vespasian on the borders of Italy, and being terrify'd at their numbers and discipline, he perswades his men to go over to Vespasian, upon which they deserted; but repenting for what they had done, and beginning to mutiny against Cecinna, there happened a very dreadful encounter betwixt Anthony and the Vitellians; the latter were worsted, and fled towards Cremona, where Anthony intercepted them, and cut them totally off, to the number of 30,200 persons; upon this Cecinna was set at liberty to carry the news of the victory to Vespasian. Anthony made the best of his way to Rome, where upon his arrival there ensued a very bloody battle, and the Vitellians were slain thro' all parts of the city; and while the engagement lasted, Vitellius came out of his palace overladen with drink, and so was dragged along the streets and stabbed to death. In this action, which decided the matter in controversy, they reckoned above 50,000 men slain. The Romans made a double festival of it, and Vespasian was declared for, every where; he was now ply'd with gratulatory embassies and applications from every quarter.

The Romans being now quiet and easy beyond all expectation, and the winter over, he began to look after the remainder of Judea, and so to prepare for his journey to Rome. He sent away his son Titus, with his best troops, upon an expedition against Jonathan, who scarce made any stop of it till he came to Cesarea, where he stay'd a while to strengthen himself with some additional troops.

While this part of the Roman history (we have given the reader) was transacting, Jerusalem was divided into three factions; as for the Zealots we have spoken of their rise and encrease. Eleazar the son of Simon was the first that made the breach, by setting up the Zealots against the people. John of Gischala also put in for himself, and made a separate party; Judas the son of Chelchias, and Simon the son of Aaron, every one of them with a train of Zealots at his heels, and with these Eleazar, took possession of the inner temple, and put guards upon the sacred porches being confident that the daily oblations would supply them with necessaries; they had, indeed, the advantage of the place; but John was the stronger of the two, tho' he could not attempt any thing without loss; however, his animosity carry'd him at last to make several attacks, both with darts and other weapons of that nature, till the temple was polluted with the gore of dead bodies. On the other hand, Simon, the

son of Gorias, whom the people in distress had pitch'd upon for their protector, had the upper town in his possession with the greater part of the lower: he set upon John of Gischala with great fury, when he saw how Eleazar handled him from above; but John had as much the advantage of Simon, as Eleazar had of John, who was now hemm'd in betwixt two enemies, Eleazar over head, and Simon on the lower ground. The very strangers at this time were so happy as to escape the malice and outrage of the soldiers, yet they fell here and there by the random shot of stones and launces that reached the sacrificers, and cut them off with the common worshippers, so that the blood of persons holy and profane, were seen flowing up to the very altar. John, in the very midst of this confusion and blood shed, was attack'd at the same time by Eleazar and Simon, and so constrained to divide his forces, and keep those in play that assaulted him on the city side, with darts from the tops of porches, plying those also in the temple above him with stones and arrows from his machines; and whensoever Eleazar and his men had got drunk, they gave John a little respite to make stronger sallies upon Simon, who, as he was beat farther off into the city, burnt all before him, destroying both corn and all other necessary provisions for life; and, to finish the calamity, every thing was burnt down quite round the temple, the city turned into a desert by the natives of the place, and a field of battle one against another. Titus by this time being just ready to sit down before Jerusalem, all passages were now guarded, and the leaders of the factions, tho' mortal enemies to each other, were all of the same mind to kill such as deserv'd to live; and they suffer'd not one to escape who was but suspected to be a well-wisher to the Romans; so that the inhabitants were grown dumb with grief and sorrow, nothing being heard day and night but shrieks and clamour, and the cashing of arms. The faction all this while fighting on with heaps of carcasses under their feet, as if they had been as insensible as the dead. Nothing was now so sacred, but was turn'd to profane uses: and John also cut down the out-works of the temple, and erected turrets to keep off the stones and arrows that were sent by Eleazar from above.

Titus was on his march to invest the city, which was order'd after the following manner. His auxiliaries were foremost, and were followed by the pioneers; in the next place came the baggage under a convoy, which was followed by Titus and his guards, with a body of horse at the head of the machines; in the next order came the tribunes and other officers, with a train of choice men under their command; the Roman eagle was born after them, with the ensigns of the legions about it, the trumpets going before them, the body of the army marched in rank and file, six in front; and the common soldiers every man following the legion he belong'd to; the mercenaries and their guards bring-

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ing up the rear. In this order Titus advanced, according to the method of the Roman discipline. Titus made a halt at a place call'd the valley of Thorns, near thirty furlongs from Jerusalem; here he put himself at the head of sixty choice horse, and led them towards Jerusalem to take a particular view of the city and to learn the dispositions of the people; for he thought himself well assured, that the Jews were weary of the factions by this time; and that they wanted nothing but strength and opportunity to revolt: with this fancy in his head, he advanced up to that place; and so long as he went forward the ready way to the walls, there was not a creature appeared upon the battlements; but upon his crossing over towards the turret call'd Pespinos, a vast number of Jews sally'd out upon him from the gate over-against the sepulchre of Helena, that broke quite through the middle of Titus's body; and cutting off all communication betwixt the two divided parts, it was impossible they should relieve one another. In this confusion the Jews singled out Titus, with a very small number of his people about him, in a place where there was no going forward for the enclosures, gardens, and ditches, betwixt him and the wall; and his retreat was intercepted on the other hand by a strong body of the enemy that was gotten betwixt him and his own people. Titus's men, not knowing the danger their general was in, and believing him to be yet safe, they thought they had no more to do, than every man to shift for one, and so to make after their captain. Titus finding himself in this extremity, that he had nothing but his sword and his courage to trust to, called out to his fellow-soldiers to follow him, and in the same instant spur-ring in among the enemies body to make his way to the rest of his men. This was a time for providence to interpose; for Titus, who came not to fight, but to make a discovery, had not provided himself with armour, either for his head or his body; and yet not one dart or arrow of all the showers that were thrown at him once so much as touch'd him, but were carry'd off from the mark, as if they were designed to miss him. Titus in the mean time clearing his passage on both sides with his sword in his hand, overbearing all before him, and trampling his enemies under his horse's feet. This fearless resolution of Cesar's drew the rage of the whole party upon him, crying one to another to fall upon him as the only check to their successes; but which way soever Titus turn'd, the Jews fled before him; and yet at the same time others pressing him flank and rear, and his companions all the while sticking bravely to him, there was no way left him to come off, but by one generous charge quite thro'; they made the push immediately, wherein one of Titus's friends was killed, horse and man; and another over-turn'd and slain, and his horse taken and carried off, while Titus, with the remainder of his people, got safe back to his camp, without

so much as one wound. The Jews took such heart at this temporary advantage, that they looked upon it as an earnest of greater things to follow, but their hopes deceived them. The night following there came up a legion from Amaus to join Cesar, who marched away early next morning to Scopus, a place about 7 stadia from Jerusalem, where they had a fair prospect of the town and temple. Titus ordered two legions to encamp upon the spot; and the 5th legion to withdraw two stadia further off, where they might entrench without danger from the enemy, being almost wearied off their legs with a tedious night's march. The legions were no sooner at work, but there came up the tenth legion from Jericho, a place that was taken and garrison'd by Vespasian; this legion was ordered to encamp six stadia to the east of Jerusalem and the mount of Olives. Now the factions in the town went on, tearing one another as the most bitter adversaries in the world, till the apprehensions of a foreign war, and a common enemy made them friends again; for upon the very sight of the Roman camp, the three seditious parties agreed the matter among themselves, reasoning upon the necessity of such a composition, and expostulating after this manner: what will be the end of this business do you think, if we stand still to see ourselves surrounded with forts and troops, our lives and liberties at mercy, and we all this while coop'd up within the walls, and our arms across, the tame spectators of a licentious war, to the advantage of our enemies and our own ruin? Nay, says another, we are only valiant against ourselves, and in cutting one another's throats; to make way for the conquest of the Romans without blood. Upon this they began to gather in parties and cabals, and in that very instant betaking themselves to their arms, made a furious excursion cross the valley upon the tenth legion, as they were entrenching themselves in their camp. This sally was such a surprize to the Romans, that they were half distracted at it; for being at work without their arms, the Jews fell upon them unawares, whereupon every man quitted his post: some ran quite away, others fled to their arms; but were cut off, before they could make use of them. Upon the credit of this victory, the Jews flow'd in more and more; tho' they really were not very numerous, yet their good fortune made them appear so, both to the Romans and to themselves. In short, the whole legion had been entirely cut off, if Titus had not come in the precise minute to their succour; and, betwixt reproaches of cowardice on the one side, and exemplary bravery on the other, put a stop to their flight. He joined the fugitives with a party of choice men of his own; and charging the Jews in the flank, he kill'd several of them upon the place, and wounded more; and drove the whole body down into the valley in great disorder; but upon their passing the valley they made a stand, and maintained a fight with the

Romans across it till mid-day. In the afternoon Titus reinforced the legion with fresh troops; and posting parties up and down to secure excursions, he ordered the remainder of his forces up the mountain, to encamp and fortify upon the top of it. The Jews observing this motion, took it for a direct flight, whereupon they rush'd out in such an outrageous fury, that they looked liker a herd of wild beasts than a multitude of men; the violence was so impetuous, that not a man of the contrary party could stand the shock, but were all driven up to the mountain. About the middle of the ascent, Titus made a stand with some of his resolute friends about him, who, out of the veneration they had for the person and dignity of the emperor, besought him that he would not any longer expose his own sacred life against the worthless lives of a desperate rabble of the Jews, whose condition was such, that death was the best thing could befall them: Titus took no notice of what they said, but stood upon his guard against all opposers, cutting some over the face, killing others that press'd upon him, and forcing some again down the mountain into the valley. The vigour and resolution of this prince kept the Jews in some sort of awe, tho' not enough to fright them into the city again. But opening to the right and left, they attacked his people on each hand of him, while Titus, galling them in the flank, gave some obstruction to the pursuit. When the Romans from their camp above took notice what havock was made among their companions below, they were struck with such horror and amazement, that the whole legion dispersed, upon it, taking it for granted, that the Jews were too hard for the Romans; and that Titus himself had quitted the field, or his soldiers would never have forsaken him. In the height of this distraction, an alarm was given to the whole legion, by some who had seen Titus labouring for life in the midst of his enemies; upon this, betwixt shame, and the conscience of having abandon'd their commander, they were transported to so revengeful a rage, that without any further thought of sheltering themselves, they fell with all their might upon the Jews, and drove them away before them down to the brow of the mountain; not but that they made their retreat fighting too, and for a while disputed every foot of the ground they lost; till the Romans, by the advantage of the higher station, forc'd them all down into the valley. The action being over, Titus sent back the legion to make an end of their trenches, he himself staying with his own people to keep the enemy at a distance. Thus Titus on the same day saved the legion twice from being entirely routed. The Jews had no sooner a breathing-while from the hostilities of the Romans, but they fell presently all to pieces among themselves. The paschal feast was now at hand, being a memorial of their deliverance out of Egypt, and the fourteenth day of the month

Xanthicus. Eleazar caused the temple gate to be set open, for a free entrance to all people that came up to worship. John made use of this religious occasion for a cover to a most execrable wickedness. He picked a select number out of his own people that were the least known, and most of them licentious and profane, and these he secretly intermingled with the worshippers, and giving them daggers, and other instruments of death, under their coats, with instructions how to behave themselves. The temple was immediately all in a tumult within and without, and the uproar was looked upon as a general design on the whole multitude. But Eleazar and the Zealots knew better, and that the malice was principally levelled against them; and therefore the guard drew off from the gates, others leaped down from the towers without striking a blow, and crept into the temple vaults to hide themselves. The common people, that ran up to the altar, were miserably destroyed, some of them squeezed and trampled to death in the crowd, others lay weltering in their blood up and down, or their brains beaten out with swords and cudgels. The Zealots being now absolute masters of the inner temple, pressed harder and harder still upon Simon; the factions that were in three divisions before being now reduced to two. Titus was at this time thinking to decamp from Scopus, and to advance nearer the city; so that in order to his removal, he posted a competent strength of his best troops to prevent and encounter inroads; and gave it in charge to another body of men to see all the ways levell'd betwixt that and Jerusalem. Upon this the hedges, and the country people's fences about their gardens were all taken away, and the trees cut down round about, fruit-trees and all, tho' never so choice; the hollows were all filled up, the craigs plained, and the whole tract of ground, from Scopus to Herod's sepulchre, and the Pool of Serpents, all made smooth and even. The Jews had at this time a plot in their heads how to put a trick upon the Romans; some of the boldest of the party made a step out of town, a little beyond the place which they call the Women's tower, upon a pretence that they were forc'd out of the city for fear of a party within that was for peace, and that they durst not venture any further for fear of the Romans, but there they kept themselves as close and as much out of sight as they could. There was another party upon the walls, roaring out at the same time as loud as they could in the name of the inhabitants for peace, and an alliance with the Romans, imploring them at the same time to come over to them, and they would open the gates; and to make the imposture go down, they counterfeited a squabble among themselves, some were struggling to get off to the Romans, others threw stones to hinder them. After several feigned attempts and repulses, they went back again like mad men, the disappointment; the cheat went down well

enough with the common soldiers, who looked upon the town to be as good as their own already, and press'd so eagerly to be in action, as if there had been nothing wanting but the ceremony of opening the gates to put them in possession of it. But Titus gave no faith at all to the invitation, having made them an offer but the day before of as much as they seem'd now to desire, and they rejected the proposal; so that Titus commanded his men, every man of them to stand to their arms, and to maintain their posts. But in the mean time some of those that were employ'd upon the trenches, betook themselves to their weapons in a hurry, and ran towards the gates: the Jews that pretended to be driven out of town, let them pass through them without any interruption, till they were got up within a little of some towers near the port; and then following them close upon the rear, they hemmed them within reach of stones, darts, and all manner of shot of that quality from the walls, where great numbers of them were killed and wounded, being so pent up by those that press'd upon the backs of them, that there was no getting clear of the wall. Beside that, betwixt shame and confusion on the one hand, and the fear of punishment on the other, they were harden'd into a resolution of prosecuting what they had already begun; but, in fine, after a long dispute, with an equal loss on both sides, the Romans broke through the body of the Jews, who yet pursued them with lances, and other such-like weapons, as far as the sepulchre of Helena, and not without insolent and contemptuous reproaches upon the Romans for being out-witted and made such fools of. This did they by waving their bucklers over their heads, leaping and dancing all the way they went, with shouts of joy and triumph.

When the Romans were thus come off, their officers treated them with menaces and scorn; and Titus himself receiv'd them with a speech of resentment and indignation, to the following purpose: How comes it says he, that the Jews, that have nothing but their despair for their directors, should manage their affairs with consideration, stratagem, and success? The question is answer'd in one word; they live in obedience to their superiors, and in good will and union one with another: whereas the Romans, that have been hitherto so famous for their excellent order and discipline, and consequently for their good fortune are now fallen off and destroy'd by the headstrong intemperance of their own folly, in making war without officers; and which is worst of all, Cesar himself to be a spectator of this. What scandal will this be to the very rules and method of arms! or, what will my father say, do you think, when he shall hear of it: a general that in the whole course of a long and military life, never met with any thing like it before? now such is the severity of martial law, that it makes it capital for any man to depart

depart from the strict rule of discipline, even in a small matter: but in this case the whole army is a deserter. And be it known to you, that, according to the strictness of the Roman conduct, victory itself is a scandal when it is gained by extravagant means.

Upon this, the whole body of offenders gave themselves for lost; but in this interval, the legions did in a manner beset Titus with petitions and intercessions on the behalf of their companions. Titus in fine, forgave and forgot what was past, upon condition they would be wiser for the time to come, and from thence forward he set his thoughts at work, how to revenge himself on the treacherous Jews. Thus we have brought Titus before the city, and nothing remains now but the actual investment of it, which must be the business of the second book.

The end of the first book.



The WARS of the JEWS:

THE SECOND BOOK.

The siege and destruction of Jerusalem by Titus Vespasian.

THE first business that Titus had upon his hands, in order to lay close siege to Jerusalem was to make all level betwixt himself and the city, which was the work of four days; after which he commanded his best troops to advance towards the ramparts, betwixt north and west; seven battalions of foot were drawn up, and three squadrons of horse, with archers betwixt them; these being force sufficient to repel all excursions. Titus encamped at the distance of four stadia from the city, over against the tower call'd Hephines, upon the angle of the wall, where it winds off from the north to the westward; intrenching also another party of his army towards the tower Hippicos, some two furlongs from the city; the tenth legion remaining upon mount Olivet.

Perhaps a very short description of Jerusalem may not disgust the reader in this place; to begin therefore, the city was encompass'd with three walls, saving only toward the inaccessible vallies where there was no necessity for more than one: Jerusalem was built upon two hills that fronted each other, with a deep valley that parted them, called Tyropeon. The upper town is erected on a mountain, much the higher of the two; the lower town is seated upon the hill of Arca.

The oldest of the three walls was reckon'd impregnable, by reason of the depth of the valley below, and the over-hanging of the rock from above; and besides these natural advantages, it had all the improvements that David, Solomon and several other princes had contributed to the farther strengthening of it by art, industry, and expences; but when the city grew too populous for these limits, 'twas built out in Suburbs, which were also well fortify'd. Upon the third wall were ninety towers all of a make, and at the equal distance of two hundred cubits one from another; the middle wall had fourteen towers, the old wall sixty, and the extent of the whole city was thirty-three furlongs. As for the situation, structure, and magnificence of the temple, they were almost beyond the very power of imagination to form the idea of them, and we want room to do this topick any measure of justice. Jerusalem being in this condition, and the Romans before it, the factions within the walls were as violent as ever: Simon had got together fifteen thousand men, and had dispos'd of them under captains and officers. John at present was in possession of the temple, with six thousand under the command of twenty captains; and there came in to him two thousand four hundred of the Zealots, who list'd themselves under (whom they had formerly serv'd) one Simon the son of Jair. In this confusion the people were a common booty, and the least seditious were a prey to them both. Simon was master of the upper town, and the great wall as far as Cedron, and also the o'd wall that runs out to Shiloe; Ophlas, and the vale of Cedron, that parted John and Simon, were now reduc'd to ashes. The Romans pressing upon them to the gates, brought them by fits to their senses again; but the least interval of a breathing while they immediately relaps'd and broke out into factions and divisions among themselves, contending afresh again upon the foot of former pretensions. Now this was the greatest service to the Romans imaginable; for they treated one another worse than they were treated by the common enemy; they were reduc'd, 'tis true, to harder extremities, yet before the city was totally destroy'd; but the Romans did yet a greater thing than taking the place; for whereas the seditious did but destroy the city, they destroyed the very sedition. While matters went thus within the walls, Titus, with a party of choice horse, took the tour of the walls, to consider upon what quarter they lay most

most expos'd to an attack. He found the vallies impassable to either horse or foot; and on the other side, the first wall was so firm that there was no breach to be made upon't by battery; but after a little deliberation, he pitch'd upon that part of the line towards the sepulchre of John the high-priest, as the place that was most expos'd to assault, both as the first wall was the lower there, and likewise cut off from the second wall; the fortification in this place being neglected, in regard that the new city was not as yet peopl'd enough to attend it; hence they might pass to the third wall, and so to the upper town; and, with the help of Antonia, take the very temple itself. While Titus was weighing these things with himself, a particular friend of his, Nicanor by name, was wounded in the left shoulder, by an arrow from the wall, as he was labouring with Joseph to bring the Jews over to desire a peace. Titus was so transported at the ungrateful bitterness of these people towards their best friends, that he immediately took up the resolution of taking the city by storm and violence. Upon this he gave the pillage of the suburbs to the soldiers, ordering them to make use of the stones and rubbish for their works and platforms. The army he divided into three bodies, assigning to them all their works and stations. He disposed of his archers and slingers upon the mounts, in the middle of the body, with engines to throw stones and other shot before them; which serv'd to a double purpose, either to repel the sallies of the enemy, or to hold them in play upon the walls. The trees were all hewn down, and the suburbs laid naked in an instant, the timber being employ'd upon fortifications. All hands, in short, were at work on the Roman side, and the Jews were pretty busy.

The people having been formerly expos'd to robbery and murder, finding the faction so entirely taken up in their own defence, began now to flatter themselves with some prospect of relief, in the very hope, that the Romans, if they got the better of it, would effectually revenge their quarrel, by putting it in their own power to do themselves justice. John's people made a very vigorous opposition against the besiegers; but he himself durst not move out of the temple for fear of Simon, who being posted next to the enemy, was always in action. He planted all along the wall, the shot and engines he had taken from Cestius, and out of the fort Antonia; but his people made little advantage of all this, because they understood not the right use and management of them, only some little skill they had got from here and there a deserter that came among them: but yet the Jews made use of them to gall the enemy from the ramparts with stones and arrows; making also their sallies in small parties, and coming to hand blows with the Romans; who, on the other side, had cover'd their workmen with hurdles and gabions.

The Roman legions had every one of them wonderful machines, to disappoint the insult of an enemy, tho' the tenth legion was the best provided, not only for the casting of the larger stones, but for throwing them farther. Every stone weigh'd a talent, and did execution not only a hand, but to the top of the walls, or ramparts, tho' 'twas the distance of a furlong; and where it fell it carry'd a whole file before it. The Jews were advertis'd several ways of these stones; first their whiteness discovered them; secondly, their noise in the air; and thirdly, notice was given them by those that were set to watch these engines; and still as any of them were discharged, the watch men cry'd out in their mother tongue, The stone comes; so that every man had a little liberty to get out of harms way. The Romans after this discoloured their stones, that they might not be discovered in their course; and by the help of this invention, kill'd sometimes several Jews at one blow; however, all could not give the Jews satisfaction, but they still employed all their policy and courage to obstruct and defeat the Romans. The Roman works being finished, they threw a line and plummet to measure the distance betwixt the wall and the mount, which was otherwise impracticable by reason of the shots and darts that were poured down from above; and when they found the place fit for the rams to play, Titus ordered that they and the other machines, should be brought up and advanc'd nearer the wall, that they might be more nearer to play. Upon this, at the same time three batteries were set at work, and the terrible noise and knocking of these engines was heard all over the city, and attended with the cries of the citizens; the faction itself also trembled under the apprehension of it; and the principal members of it finding themselves all under one common danger, bethought themselves of making one common defence, saying, that while they cut the throats of one another, they were doing the enemies work. Simon hereupon sent an herald to those that were shut up in the temple, telling them, that as many of them as would advance to defend the walls against the Romans, were at free liberty. John did not much credit the message, tho' he left his people to their freedom. This overture being made, the factions were presently quieted upon it, and march'd directly to the walls in a full body, and there they fell to work with their fires and torches upon the Roman engines, plying those that defended them with darts and other missile weapons. The Jews were so warm in this matter, that in the heat of resolution, they leaped down from the walls in whole troops upon the very engines; tore off their covers, and broke in upon the guards that defended them. Titus, in this extremity, with his usual courage, clapt a party of horse and archers to support his machines, keep off the fire, and hold the Jews in play upon the walls, that the engineers might have freedom to do execution. The bat-
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tery all this while had very little success, only the ram that belonged to the fifth legion had the fortune to over-turn a tower, which being advanced above the wall, tumbled down without drawing any part of it along with it.

In short the Jews being thus warmly received, began to intermit their sallies, and the Romans concluded 'twas either out of fear or weariness, and so went heedlessly up and down as in a state of security. The Jews were aware of this, and knew well enough how the Romans were scatter'd, and putting the opportunity into practice, made a violent excursion out of a sally-port from the tower Hippicos, set fire to the Roman works, and in the height of success, pushed the besiegers back to the very camp.

This alarm ran presently thro' the whole army, and the Romans drew all together to relieve their companions; and the Jews found it to their cost, that their hardiness could not support itself against the discipline of the Romans. The fire had by this time caught hold of the engines, and they had unavoidably been destroyed, if a choice party of Alexandrian troops had not supported them, who behav'd themselves to a miracle, and had a considerable share of honour from this action; their commander cut down twelve of the Jews with his own hand, and drove the rest of them back to the city. Titus, when the encounter was over, caused a Jew that was taken prisoner to be crucify'd, that he might try the experiment how far an exemplary terror would work upon them.

The night following there happened some confusion in the Roman camp, occasioned by the fall of a tower, which, with two others, had been erected upon ramparts to command the town-wall. The Romans could not tell what to make of the noise, every man demanding the word of his fellow as if the Jews had been among them. This commotion was continued till Titus had learnt the matter, and publish'd the cause of it thro' the whole camp. The Jews, in the midst of their extremities, kept up their hearts at a wonderful rate, tho' the towers of the enemy discouraged them a little, from thence (because they were rais'd to a great height) they were gall'd with slingers, archers, machines, &c. and there was no remedy for them, seeing they could not carry up their platforms to the height of these towers, and they were too weighty to be overturn'd; and being plated over with iron, fire could do them no damage; so that the business of the greatest prudence was only to get out of the way of their darts, their stones, and their arrows, without the least opposition to the force of their rams. The Romans had one terrible machine of great weight, which the Jews call'd *Nicon*, or the conqueror, and this was the ram that made the first breach. At this time, between watching and fighting, the Jews were quite spent, so that betwixt rabbis and all council,

they made the resolution among themselves to quit the first wall, having two more behind that, for their confidence and security; so soon as they return'd, the Romans enter'd the breach made by Nicon, and opened the gates of the first wall for the whole army. Titus, after this, remov'd to a place which is called the camp of the Assyrians, and possessed himself of all that lay between that and the valley of Cedron, somewhat farther than a flight-shot from the second wall, whence he resolv'd to make the attack. The Jews made the best defence that was possible for them, having disposed themselves in order upon the wall. John, with his men, commanded in the fort Antonia, and on the north side of the temple from Alexander's sepulchre. The passage, from the monument of John the high-priest, to the gate by which water is carry'd to the tower Hippicos, was maintained by Simon. The Jews behav'd themselves very desperately in several sallies, and came frequently to close fight with the Romans: but the Roman discipline was an over-match for the unskilfulness of the Jews; so that as soon as they sally'd they were beat back with loss; only upon the walls, indeed, they had the better of it. The Romans had fortune and conduct for them; but the Jews were supported by despair, and their natural hardiness, against danger and fatigue. The Jews fought for life and liberty, but the Romans for dominion and honour, and neither of them were to be tired out. They began with the break of day, and held out till night parted them; when both parties were kept waking, the one from a fear of their walls, the other of their camp; thus they were all night in arms, and next morning, so soon as 'twas day-light, ready for battle.

The Jews valued themselves extremely upon their contempt of death and hazard, so that every one of them strove who should dare most, that they might ingratiate themselves with their leaders. Simon had gotten such an ascendant in the affections of his men, that they would willingly have dy'd at his feet, had he but said the word. As for the Romans, they were so accustom'd to victory, that they scarce knew how to be overcome, their experience and success were encouragements enough for them, thro' the constant exercise of arms in the service of a glorious empire, which with the presence of a martial prince, did inspire them with more than common courage. There was at this time a powerful body of Jews drawn up before the walls, and they were advanc'd already within the distance of exchanging blows and launces with the Romans. In this very instant, one of the Roman horse-men, called Longinus, spur'd very furiously into the middle of the enemy, where he slew two of the best men they had, he sent the lance thro' the jaws of one of them, and the other he ran thro' the body with the same lance, coming off at last to his own party without a wound. He

got a great deal of honour by this action, and so provok'd others to follow his example. The Jews all the while were so taken up with doing mischief, that they never regarded what they suffer'd. But Titus had an eye to the saving his men, as well as getting the victory; and looked upon the heats of rashness but as the worst sort of desperation; he would not allow any exploit for true courage, that was not govern'd by caution and prudence.

The ram being now planted against the middle of the tower that stands on the north side of the city, Titus entertained the Jews so warmly with showers of arrows, that they immediately quitted their posts, only Castor, a sly crafty Jew, lay skulking behind the battlements, but before they had lain long, there came a shock that made the tower tremble under them. Upon this they rose, and Castor, in the tone, language, and posture of a suppliant, made his address to Titus for quarter, begging pardon with the greatest shew of humility. Titus, who was always good-natured, began to fancy the Jews had receiv'd satisfaction, and possibly had got enough of the war; upon this he call'd off the archers, and put a stop to the battery; acquainting Castor, That if he had any matter of moment to say, he was willing to hear him. Castor's answer was, That he desir'd nothing more than a treaty. Titus told him very generously, That he was ready to treat with all his heart; and more than that, to grant a pardon, if all his companions were of the same mind. So soon as this proposal was made, five of the ten pretended to side with Castor in the matter, the other five cry'd out, That so long as 'twas in their power to die freemen, they would never die slaves. While this debate lasted, there was nothing farther of hostility; but Castor made the best of the opportunity, and sent privately to Simon, that he should improve his time, while he amused the Roman general with a pretence of peace. Castor and his companions acted their parts so near to the life, that there were swords drawn upon it, and some men seemingly kill'd, though the whole affair was nothing but a cheat.

Titus and those with him were amazed at the obstinacy and boldness of the Jews, and were also mov'd with compassion to their misery, tho' being upon lower ground they could not well discover what pass'd above: in the mean time Castor was wounded by an arrow near his nostrils, who wrenching it out, held it out to Titus, and made his appeal for justice; the prince repented the injury at a high rate, and would have sent Joseph to Castor with assurances of fair quarter and amity: however, Joseph begged to be excus'd, and dissuaded his friends from the same errand, telling them, that the pretended submission of the Jews was all over treachery. Eneas, notwithstanding, upon Castor's promising a sum of money, was willing to carry the message of grace; but so soon as Eneas had put himself in a

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possession to receive the present, Castor let a great stone fall from the wall which was difficult for Eneas to avoid; and after all, wounded the man that stood next. Titus was now fully convinced, that good nature might be unreasonable; so that in order to take revenge upon Castor and his fellows, he commanded the batteries to play again with greater fury than before; and Castor and his men finding the tower begin to shake, they set fire to it, and made their escapes into a vault, thro' the middle of the flames. Titus was master of this part of the wall in less than five days after he had taken the first: the way being now opened to the second wall, he drove the Jews before him, and entered the town, thro' all the narrow passages that lead up to the wall among the tradesmen. Now, had Titus razed the greatest part of this wall, as he might have done by the laws of war, the victory would have cost him little more. Titus being now enter'd the town, shew'd abundance of humanity and tenderness to the prisoners that were taken, not suffering one of them to be kill'd, nor a house to be burned down; only the faction were at liberty to fight it out, if they had a mind, provided they did not oppress the people. He promised the inhabitants at the same time to restore to them whatever he had taken from them, and also to maintain them in their lawful possessions. These terms were acceptable, being all they desir'd at such an extremity as this, that either the city might be spared for their own sakes, or at least the temple for the sake of the city. The faction all this while imputed the tenderness of Titus to want of courage: for, say they, these conditions are only offered because he despairs of going thro' with his work. They also threatened death to any man that should but speak of peace. The Romans were no sooner got within the town, but the Jews press'd upon them all manner of ways, by blocking the narrow passes, galling them out of their houses, and by sallies from the walls, forcing them to quit their towers and retire to their camp. There was nothing but confusion and outcry between the soldiers within the town, and in the middle of their enemies; and those without the town for fear of their fellow soldiers within, the Jews being both more numerous and better acquainted with the secret passages and by-alleys, so that they were too hard for the Romans at every turn; and the breaches being not large enough to march out abreast, they were all disorder'd in the crowd, and scarce a man had got off, if Titus had not come to their relief in the very nick of time; but upon fixing a body of archers at the end of every street, and Titus posting himself always where there was most danger, with Demetrius Sabinus for his second, they kept the Jews at play with darts and lances, till, under the cover of this diversion, they brought their men off pretty safe. Thus the Romans were beaten out again, after they had taken the second wall.

Upon

Upon this success, the more resolute among the citizens had the vanity to flatter themselves, that either the Romans would not dare to attack them any more, or that if they did, the Jews were certainly invincible. Thus they were judicially infatuated, and their numbers began to waste and perish very fast with the famine that rag'd among them.

The Romans began now to make another attempt upon the wall they had once gotten and lost, and for three days together they continu'd the assault with one attack upon the heels of another, and were as hotly received; but upon the fourth day, Titus gave them so furious a charge, that they were not able any longer to hold out; and it was upon this push that he got the mastery of the wall: the northern part of it he demolish'd, and placed guards to the southward.

There was yet one labour more remaining, upon which Titus had now his thoughts employ'd, and that was the storming of the third wall, tho' he did not look upon it as a work of much time and difficulty, so that he resolv'd out of meer humanity, what might be done by methods that were more gentle; he thought farther, that between force and famine they might be prevail'd upon to listen to some other counsels; for their provisions and booty were just spent on the one hand, and Titus enjoy'd all the plenty imaginable on the other; insomuch, that on a day of general muster, Titus commanded his men to be drawn forth and paid in the sight of the enemy; the foot advancing with their swords drawn, and led horses so gloriously caparison'd, that the whole field sparkl'd with gold and silver. The Jews were got together in swarms upon the old wall, the houses, and indeed the whole city was covered with gazing at this pompous appearance, which was so rich and fine, that in short it struck a damp upon the spirits of the boldett Jews, and, in all probability, would have brought them over to terms of peace, had they not been conscious that they had given the Romans such affronts as would never be forgotten; beside, the fates had so order'd it, that the innocent were to fall with the guilty, and the city itself with the faction.

After this, Titus spent four days in victualling his camp, without the least act of hostility; upon the fifth he divided his army into two bodies, finding the Jews without any dispositions for peace, he began to cast up works against the fortress Antonia, near John's monument, with a prospect of making himself master of the upper town, and from fort Antonia of getting possession of the temple.

Upon this resolution, Titus advanced two attacks, and at every mount a legion was posted to cover and guard the workmen. Those at work near the monument were gall'd by the Jews and Simon's people; and the other against Antonia, were harder put it by John's party, and a band of Zealots under his command;

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and; the Jews had the advantage of the higher ground, and by constant practice were grown pretty expert at their engines and machines. They had 300 cross-bows and 40 stone-slings, with which they disturbed the Romans very much, and put a stop to the progress of their design.

Titus thought he had such good assurance of his fortune, that he reckoned upon Jerusalem as his own before-hand; however, as he prosecuted the siege on one hand, he forgot not to make trial of advice and persuasion, as well as force, to bring the Jews to reason on the other. He made it his own request to them, that they'd be merciful to themselves, by putting a place into his hands, that he could force them to at pleasure: but when this had no effect upon them, he left the further management of this point to Joseph, upon this opinion, that an office of such humanity, from one of their own countrymen, and in their own language might have better success. Joseph, in pursuance of the commission, made his walk about the town; and at last stopping upon a rising ground, beyond the reach of the enemies shot, and within their hearing, he delivered himself to this purpose: I am now to entreat you, my dear friends, says Joseph, as you value your city, your temple, your lives and liberties, that you'd embrace the mercy offer'd you by your very enemies and strangers. The Romans have such a veneration for sacred things, that they would not lay their hands upon what's dedicated to divine service, whereas, instead of defending the religion you were brought up in, you are joined in a direct conspiracy against it: do you not yet see that you are quite overpower'd, your weakness expos'd, and your walls defenceless; and that in such a condition as this it is a thing impossible to hold it out against so formidable a power? Nor is it any new thing, supposing the worst, for the Jews to be subject to the Romans. The cause is glorious, it is true, when liberty is the question, if it were early enough; but when hopes are turned into despair, it is a folly then to think off shaking of the yoke; nay farther, it is the very way to live in slavery and die in infamy. The bondage would be scandalous, indeed, to serve a single master, as men of honour would be ashamed to own; but the cause is quite contrary, to be under subjection to a people that have a whole universe at their feet. And show me that corner in the world that is free from the Roman dominion, excepting only where the extremity of heat and cold has rendered the place uninhabited and useless. Fortune herself has gone over to the side of the Romans, and has made Italy the seat of universal monarchy; and it is the dictate of the natural law, that the weaker should submit to the stronger; this consideration made our ancestors, tho' much your superiors in power and policy, to pay an allegiance to the Romans which they would never have consented to, had they not been convinc'd that it was the pleasure of heaven to have

it for: To what purpose should you dispute the point any longer, that is as good as lost already? For famine alone would do the work, tho' the siege were rais'd, and your walls left entire; the multitude has suffer'd by it already, and the soldiers turn will come next; and every day will make it worse, there being no fence against hunger, and the calamity is invincible. Upon the whole, you'd do well to take good advice before it be too late: the Romans are naturally an enemy that is very generous, and very ready to forgive and forget all that is done and past, provided the affront be not pursued on to extremity. They had rather receive you with the open arms of friendship, than be troubled with the incumbrance of a depopulated city and desolate province. Tho', if ever matters come to this, that you are taken by storm, you must expect every man of you to be put to the sword, those especially that remain obstinate to the last, in contempt of the emperor's grace and mercy. As for your third wall, there is nothing to be expected from it, but the same fate of the other two that you have lost before. Or, suppose your walls and your works impregnable, famine, as I told you, would do your business. While Joseph reason'd the matter thus with them, the Jews returned him very bitter and contemptuous reproaches from the walls for his good office; and these revilings were not unaccompanied with stones and darts. This treatment convinced him, that affliction and admonition would never work upon them; so that he now began to run over the history of former times, and gather up precedents and arguments to this purpose.

Ah miserable and ungrateful wretches that you are, says he, to slight and overlook your best friends, and encounter the Romans with common weapons, as if the victories you had obtain'd had been the effects of your wisdom and virtue. Can you say, that God, the great Creator of heaven and earth, has ever deserted the Jews when they were oppress'd? Consider your original, what you are at present, and what a doing, and how glorious a protector you provoke by these outrages. Do but call to mind the great exploits of your ancestors, and the great deliverances God has wrought for them by the sacredness of his holy place. I am possessed with horror to think of exposing the history of God's miraculous dispensations of mercy to a people so unworthy of blessings; notwithstanding, upon this occasion I'll dispense with that scruple, to shew you that the war you are engaged in, is not so much against the Romans, as against God himself.

Pharaoh Necho, a king of Egypt, carry'd off, with a strong army, Sarah, the queen and mother of us all. Now, by the measures you take at present, you would have thought, that Abraham, the husband of Sarah, and our common father, should have attempted to rescue Sarah by force of arms, especially see-

ing at that time he had 318 lieutenants, and innumerable troops under him, at his own command; but he rather chose to keep quiet, and offer up his prayers towards the holy place, and implore assistance; and what was the end of it, but Pharaoh's sending back the queen untouched, the second night after he had taken her away; the Egyptian in the mean time contracting a reverence for the holy place, which you have polluted with the blood of your own countrymen; till at last, finding himself haunted with frightful visions, he posited away back again to his own country; but first leaving rich gifts of gold and silver, in token of the reverence he had for a people so much in God's favour. What can I say farther of our fore-fathers going down into Egypt, their 400 years bondage under a foreign power, and they submitting with patience to God's good pleasure; at a time when they were strong and numerous enough to have rescu'd themselves, by force. Shall I tell you how the Egyptians were infested with serpents, and troubl'd with all manner of diseases; how their fruits were blasted, the Nile corrupted, and ten plagues successively one upon the heels of another? But such of our ancestors as God hath design'd for the priesthood, were carry'd off without blood and danger, by the conduct of a special providence. So when the Assyrians seiz'd the ark, how did all Palestine, Dagon, and the whole nation concern'd in it, repent the rape, their inwards became putrid and rotten, and they were dreadfully tormented with the gripes, insomuch that their guts came away with their excrements; and what was the effect of this, but their sending back the ark, accompanied with musical instruments, by the same sacrilegious hands that took it away, that by this means they might in some measure atone for their wickedness. This was the immediate work of God himself for our ancestors, because they cast themselves intirely upon Divine Providence, without any recourse to common means.

What was the end of Senacherib the king of Assyria, and of his prodigious army, when he sat down before this place, with all the strength of Asia along with him; was he cut off by any human power? No: but the Hebrews being at their prayers in peace, the angel of God in one night confounded that numerous army, and the Assyrian found 185,000 of his men the next morning dead upon the place, and the remainder flying from the Jews that were unarmed, and had not the least thought of pursuing them.

You remember likewise, that the Jews were 70 years in the Babylonian captivity, without making any attempt to recover their liberty, till God raised up Cyrus to discharge them, and send them away to their own country, where they began to sacrifice to God as the author of their deliverance.

In short, what great things did our fore-fathers ever bring to
past,

pass, either with or without arms, save only by God's assistance and direction? but, indeed, when they fought in confidence of their own strength, they never succeeded; for instance, when this city was besieged by the king of Babylon, Zedekiah fought him contrary to the counsel of the prophet Jeremy, and the event of it was, the routing of his army and the taking of Zedekiah prisoner, and the destruction of both city and temple before his face. Do you observe now the difference betwixt the temper of that prince and his people, and yours. The prophet inform'd them plainly, that they were fallen under the displeasure of heaven for their sins; and that if the city was not deliver'd up, it would be taken by force; and yet for all these forebodings, neither the prince nor the people did offer him any violence: consider therefore, in opposition to this, how barbarously you have treated me both in words and actions: am I guilty of any crime, but only of taking the freedom to tell you your faults, and giving you good advice. But the very history of your own practices would wear out your patience.

The case was very much the same also when the city was besieged by Antiochus, call'd Epiphanes: our ancestors having incur'd the displeasure of God, press'd forward to a battle, and were totally routed, the town taken and pillaged, and the sanctuary for three years and six months wholly abandoned. To make few words of it, what was it but the stubbornness of the Jews, that first made a breach betwixt them and the Romans: from what epocha can we date our slavery, but from our own seditions, when the factions of Aristobulus, and Hyrcanus, in the heat of ambition, whether should get uppermost, brought Pompey into the city, and made the Jews slaves to the Romans, that were unworthy of life: the place was surrendered after three months resistance, tho' they were then in a much better condition than you are. We are none of us ignorant, what became of Antigonus the son of Aristobulus under whose government the Jews were punished with a second judicial captivity for the people's sins. Did not Herod besiege Jerusalem with the assistance of Socius a Roman general, and after six months reduce and rife the place, as a just judgment from heaven for the iniquities of the Jews.

I think I have almost said sufficient to shew that this method of arms and sieges has always been fatal to our brethren, and that the issue of such a war would be certain ruin. Upon the whole, it seems altogether reasonable, that you who are at present in possession of this holy place, should entirely resign yourselves to the mercy of heaven, and the conduct of Divine Providence. You have much more to answer for, than those that have been cut off under your own malice by a vindictive justice in the full course of their wickedness; with respect to the secret sins of theft, fraud, adultery, and treachery, you look upon them

them as trifles, and not worth the sticking at. As for murder and oppression, they are sins you value yourselves upon. You have turn'd the temple into a very scene of wickedness, which is a place so sacred, that the Romans themselves have a veneration for it. With what countenance can you expect assistance from that God whom you have thus provok'd? But now, to make the supposition as favourable as possible, should we take it for granted, that you are as humble, just, and righteous, and your hands as innocent as our king's when he lifted them up to heaven to implore assistance against the Assyrian, and obtain'd the return of his prayer the night following, which was the meer ruin of the Assyrian army: if this were the state of the case, and that the Romans would behave themselves as the Assyrians did, who, after they had made an agreement to save the city, and then violated the oath and set fire to the temple; I confess you might then expect that God would deal with the Romans after the same manner. But this is none of their intentions, they demand only a yearly tribute, which has been paid them time out of mind; to secure them but of this, the city and the temple have nothing to fear, but you shall enjoy your estates, your liberties, your families, and the free exercise of your religion under the known regulations of your own laws. As for Vespasian, it was upon the credit of the war he had wag'd with us, that he advanc'd himself to the empire; and what are your thoughts of a miracle wrought in favour of Titus; Siloa, and other fountains you know, without the city, were drain'd so low before Titus came before this place, that water could scarce be purchas'd for money; but since the arrival of the Romans, they all flow so quick again, that the Romans have sufficient for all their purposes; nay farther, they can spare it themselves and take enough for their cattle to bestow on their gardens. The same thing happen'd when the king of Babylon besieged Jerusalem with his army, took the town and the city, and laid them both in ashes; this prodigy was certainly the forerunner of that ruin and conflagration: and I dare not run the comparison between the sins of the present age and those of the former days; so that it looks as if God had abandon'd his own temple and his people, in favour of the enemy. After all, God is not inexorable to those that repent and confess their miscarriages, which is the method you must take, if ever you hope either for mercy or safety. Therefore throw away your arms, and be sorrowful for the judgments you have brought upon your country. Think but of the sweetness of the place, the glory of our city, and of the richness and magnificence of the temple; and can you have the heart to expose all these curiosities to fire and pillage? If you are not more insensible and harder than stones, these reflections would move you, and if nothing else will work upon you, bethink yourselves of your parents, your wives, your children and

and your families, that are just upon perishing, either by sword or famine. Perhaps you'll object, that because I have a wife of my own, a mother, a family, that are concern'd in the common hazard, that it is for their sakes, and my own private interest, that I have given this counsel; but if either the sacrificing of their lives, my own, or both, may conduce to your safety I am ready to deliver them up all, upon condition that you will be more wise and honest for the future, when we are dispatch'd.

This passionate discourse of Joseph's drew tears from his own eyes, tho' the factions were not one inch mov'd at it. The common sort of people, indeed were stagger'd at it, and made it their business how to save themselves by flight; to this end, what they had that was valuable they sold for small prices, and swallow'd the gold for fear they should be robbed; and by these means they supply'd themselves with necessaries till they got over to the Romans. Titus left them at liberty to go where they would, which was encouragement enough for their escape, seeing they got clear of the broils, without making themselves slaves to the Romans. At this time John and Simon clapt a strong guard upon the passes, and took as much care that the citizens went not out, as that the Romans came not in; so that the least suspicion, or pretence of suspicion, was enough to take a man's life away. The outrages of the faction, and the pinching of the famine increased daily; and when there was no corn any longer in sight, the houses were broken up for it; and if any was discovered, the owners were severely handled for concealing it; and if none could be found, they were put to the torture, in order to make them confess their stores: nay, the cruelty went so high, that to be heal and sound was an argument of private plenty. The consumptive were dispatch'd out of hand, tho' one would think there was little need for it, when they were ready to die for want of bread. Several of the better sort, and people even of quality and condition, sold all they had for a bushel of wheat; and others that were poorer did the like for the same quantity of barley; when they had made this miserable purchase, they were forced to shut themselves up in lurking holes, lest others should participate with them. Some fell to work upon the corn before it was ground, and others stay'd till it was baked, just as they were press'd either with danger or hunger; there was no spreading of tables, but he was reckon'd happy that could snatch a bit off the coals betwixt raw and rosted. Never was a calamity so miserable, or a spectacle so horrid and lamentable. Where the strongest still got the best fare, and the weakest had nothing to do but to bemoan their misery. Wives forced away the meat from their husband's mouths; children did the same by their parents; and what was yet more unnatural, mothers from their very infants, depriving them as they lay in their arms of the very last support of life; and all this domestick plunder was not
acted

acted so in secret, but there were some at hand still to come in sharers with those that had gotten the best booty. Where ever they saw the house shut up, they presently concluded, that there was eating within, and so forcing the doors, they tore the meat ready chew'd from between the very teeth of the people, just as they were ready to swallow it, tho' to the hazard of choaking them. At this extremity there was neither age nor sex that found mercy; the old men that offered to defend what provision they had got, were miserably beaten; the women were dragged along by the hair for concealing any thing they had a mind to keep; sucking children were torn from the breast, and dash'd against the ground; so that there was no mercy for females, infancy, or gray hairs. It was reckoned a capital crime among the free-booters that were abroad upon adventures, for him that was pursu'd to out-run the pursuer, and eat his own bread before the other could come up with him.

No kind of cruelty was spared, so that they might but get something to satisfy their stomachs. The people were put to exquisite pains in those parts that were most sensible; pointed sticks were thrust up their bodies, and such like torture practis'd that cannot be mention'd without horror; and this, perhaps, for the discovery of a loaf, or a handful of flower, that lay conceal'd. And which made the cruelty more unpardonable, their tormentors were not pinched with hunger, nor could they plead necessity for their excuse. Some of the poor wretches, that had given the slip to the Roman guards, and crept out of the town for herbs and sallads in the night-time, had the ill fortune to fall into their enemies hands, when they thought themselves out of danger, where they were stript of all they gathered, and were extremely glad at last to compound for their lives, and gave away great part of what they had gotten with so great hazard. This treatment they received from the common soldiers, but the persons of quality were had before the usurpers themselves, and many of them put to death for treason, and a design to deliver up the city to the Romans, upon the testimony of false witnesses; and this was always one of the articles laid to their charge, That they had a mind to go over to their enemy. Those were carry'd to John that Simon had pillag'd; and those to Simon that were John's prisoners, as if they had been drinking healths, and dividing the carcases of men between them. At last they divided who should be uppermost, though they were perfectly agreed in their methods of usurpation and tyranny; their robberies were shared equally, tho' he was reckon'd the better man, and the greatest knave of the two, that could cozen his fellow of some moiety in the booty, to which they were both entitled.

Their iniquities would make an endless history, but to say all a little, I am perfectly perswaded that there was never a city

so miserable, or a people so barbarous on the face of the earth. In the end to palliate their inhumanity to strangers, they reviled the nation of the Jews, and confess'd themselves to be (as they really were) a company of scoundrels and slaves, of bastards and vagabonds. They laid the city in ashes and rubbish, and the burning of the temple was their own act too, both in hastening it, and by forcing Titus to such extremities, contrary to his inclinations. When the upper town was on fire, the Romans shew'd many instances of compassion; but not so much as a tear or a sigh among the Jews: but of this, with remarks upon it in proper place. Titus play'd his works all this time with some loss of men that were slain from the walls. 'Twas now become the custom of the Jews to steal out by night and run abroad for provisions; and they usually took some soldiers along with them, that could not have their necessities answer'd in the city. Those that made these excursions were commonly of the poorer sort, and having wives and children, they durst not desert, lest their throats should be cut; and they could not take their families with them for fear of a discovery. Titus being aware of this practice, order'd out a detachment to way-lay the Jews in the adjacent vallies. The Jews being ignorant of the matter, and put to the extremity of hunger, they went out and fell into the enemies ambushes; and finding themselves hemm'd in, they were forced to fight out of pure necessity, for fear of some punishment that should be worse than death itself; beside, it was now too late to ask or expect quarter. But to make short of it, they were master'd, and after they were put almost to all manner of tortures, were crucify'd before the faces of the besieg'd. 'Tis true, this rigour and severity did not at all please Titus; but he did not find it safe either to discharge such a number of obstinate prisoners that were now in his power, or to spare so many of his own men to look after them that they play'd him no trick; beside, he had some hopes, that an example of such terror might work upon the minds of the Jews and make them suppose it their own case; so that they were all of them crucify'd to a man, tho' 'twas done in several postures, some to express their hatred, some their rage, and some again their mockery and contempt; but the prisoners were so many, that they wanted room at last for more crosses. The horror of this execution was so far from melting the faction, that as they order'd the circumstances, it wrought a quite contrary effect; for the relations and friends of those that were crucify'd were dragg'd out upon the wall, that they might see what kind of treatment they had to expect from the Romans, if they should desert; telling them at the same time, that those they saw upon the crosses were not prisoners of war, but deserters that sue'd for mercy and protection. This stratagem kept many of them from falling off till the truth was discovered, tho' some of them after

all crept away to the Romans for fear of being starved, which they looked upon as a death by far the more miserable of the two. Titus, when he saw what the matter came to, he caus'd the hands of several prisoners to be cut off, and sent them away to Simon and John in that miserable condition, that they might not be taken for deserters, nor look like such; advising them by these messengers, that they should put an end to the war, and not force him to destroy their city; for it was not as yet too late, upon a speedy submission, to preserve their country, their lives, and their temple. Titus, however, kept his works a-going on, and encouraging his men, being resolv'd, if reason and persuation would not do, to compass his point by force. In the mean time, the Jews deliver'd a thousand curses from the walls against both Vespasian and Titus, every man of them declaring their contempt of death, and how much dearer their liberties were to them than their lives; and that provided they could but plague and torment the Romans, they did not matter in the least what befel either themselves or their country; which Titus assur'd them were both upon the very edge of ruin. As for their temple, they said, they looked upon the world to be the more sumptuous structure of the two; or supposing the worst, they did not doubt but God would take care of his own house, and they depended entirely upon divine protection, in despite of all the threatnings of the Romans, which God would never suffer to take effect. By this time Antiochus Epiphanes was come up before Jerusalem with a good train of armed troops along with him; he had a company of stout young fellows for his guard, being all of the same age, and accoutred and trained up after the manner of the Macedonians, from whence they took the name.

The Roman empire never had a prince that was subject to it, and more successful, than the king of Comagena, tho' in his latter years his fortune forsook him, so that the old saying verifies, no man can be pronounc'd happy before his death. He had a son of an extraordinary and martial spirit, of a strong body, and bold even to the degree of rashness: This son was talking one day, that he wonder'd why the Romans would stand trifling before the walls at that rate, and never push it to an assault. Titus smiling, made answer, that the way was open to any man that had a mind to it: and the word was no sooner out, but Antiochus led on his Macedonians to the attack, and gave sufficient proof both of conduct and valour in this action; but his followers were most of them slain or wounded: for having made such boasts before hand, they could not in honour quit the enterprize with their lives; but as soon as they saw that the Macedonian courage would never do the work without the fortune of Alexander, they were obliged to quite the enterprize, and flic off with the remainder of the men, after the best fashion they could.

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The Romans spent 17 days in hard labour to raise their platforms, which were four in number, and very large. The fifth legion rear'd one of them toward Antonia, over-against the middle of the Struthian pool; the twelfth legion rais'd another at the distance of 20 cubits from the former; the tenth legion cast up another platform to the northward, opposite to the pool nam'd Amigdalon; the fifteenth legion erected the fourth mount, at the distance of thirty cubits from the last, and but a little way off the monument of John the high-priest. These works were no sooner finish'd, but John set his men to mining under that which look'd towards Antonia, and caused several wooden pillars to be erected to keep the earth above from falling; this wood work was daub'd with bitumen. John had no more to do upon this project, but to set fire to the pillars, which had no sooner consumed the pillars, but the whole bulwark came tumbling down with a dreadful noise; the fire was not discerned at first, only there appear'd some smother of dust and smoke; at last, indeed, the flame broke through all opposition, which gave the Romans such surprize, that they were at their wits-end to be so baffled, when they thought themselves so secure of their point; and it would have been the extravagance of folly to have set about to quench the fire when the ramparts were ruin'd to all purposes.

Two days after this success, Simon and his men made an attempt upon the rest of the mounts, where the Romans had planted their rams, and begun to batter already. At this time there were three very resolute Jews within the walls, the first was Jephthaeus, a Galilean; the second Megassar; and the third, one Adiabena, son to Nebataeus; these three, with torches in their hands, went directly to the machines, breaking through the troops of the enemy with their friends; and in the very face of opposition, with darts and arrows, they pursued their design till all the engines were on fire; so soon as the flame was seen to mount, the Romans sent off a detachment from the camp to support their companions; but the Jews pour'd down their shot upon them from the walls with such violence, and without any regard to their own lives, that it came shortly to a hand-fight with those that endeavoured to put out the fire. The greatest concern of the Romans was to save their rams, the covers of them being gone already; but the Jews pushed forward into the very middle of the flames, to put a stop to their design; and they would not let their hold slip, tho' the iron was burning hot: the fire made its way thence to the ramparts, and there was no remedy for it. At this extremity, the Romans finding themselves to be encompassed round with flames, and not the least hope being left them of saving their works, they bethought themselves of withdrawing to the camp. The Jews were recruited continually from the city, and the numbers growing so fast that

that they were more and more pressing and inconsiderate, inso-
much that in the very height of the success, they made their
advances to the very camp itself, and assaulted the guards.
Now, according to the strict rule of the Roman discipline, the
office of these guards was to keep sentry in their turns, and so to
relieve one another, and not a soul of them was to quit his post
upon pain of death, tho' the necessity was never so urgent: so
that knowing the terms before hand, they were either obliged to
fall like men of honour, or die the infamous death of deserters;
these men made a vigorous resistance, and brought several of
their companions back again, betwixt necessity and disgrace,
that had abandon'd their posts, and they with the engines put a
stop to the current of the Jews that came flowing from the city;
for, indeed they made their sallies without any respect to their
own safety, fighting at random with all they met, and throw-
ing themselves like men distracted upon the very points of the
enemies weapons. The Jews at this juncture gained more upon
the Romans by their rashness, than by conduct and courage;
and the Romans on the other side gave way rather to their des-
perate boldness, than for the apprehension of any harm the
Jews could do them. Titus, upon this, makes a very seasonable
turn from Antonia, where he had been looking out the most ad-
vantagious ground to raise his works against the walls; when he
came up with his own men, he gave them a severe reprimand
for suffering themselves, after they were masters of the enemies
works, to be so coop'd up and distress'd in their own; and in a
sense besieg'd by those who in reality were no better than pri-
soners themselves. Titus made no ceremony of the matter, but
with some of his best troops surrounded the Jews immediately,
and began to gall them very heavily in the flank, while they
kept their ground as well as they could with a world of resolu-
tion; and so soon as they were broken and disorder'd a little,
the confusion was so great that they could not distinguish their
friends from their foes: Nor were the Jews thus resolute, after
their case was so desperate, out of any confidence in their own
strength, but merely from pure despair, while the Romans were
all enrag'd for the nicety of military honour and the love they
bore to the person of Titus, who was now in danger, so that if
the Jews had not taken the critical opportunity of retiring into
the city, every man of them without dispute had been cut in
pieces. Tho' the Romans, after the Jews were repulsed, had
affliction enough in the loss of their bulwarks, finding that one
hour would destroy what a long time could but raise; and in
short, upon this disappointment, they began to despair of ever
taking the place.

While matters were in this posture, Titus called a council of
his best officers, to advise what was to be done upon this extre-
mity; and some among them, that had got better judgments
than

than the rest, gave in their vote for a general assault, alledging, that nothing had been done thus far but by skirmishes, and if it came once to a full battle, they said, the Jews would not be able to withstand the Roman shafts and arrows. Others were for repairing the ramparts; and some again were for watching the victuallers, and forcing the place by famine without the dint of sword. Titus upon the whole debate did not think it honourable to lye still at the head of a vast army without any action, tho' he was not for fighting as yet with a people that were resolved upon their own destruction. As for the erecting of new ramparts, it was now impracticable, because materials were not to be had, and the vast compass of the city would not admit of laying security in all the avenues, and so to hinder them from fetching provisions; and indeed if all the high ways had been block'd up, yet the Jews would have found out some other private methods of conveyance in case of necessity, seeing they had the advantage of knowing all the secret passages round the city, and supposing that when the best security had been made, yet if the Jews should steal any relief into the city, it would lengthen the siege, and lessen the honour of the victory by delay, farther, if this project were practicable, and might consist with the honour and safety of the Romans, yet dispatch is to be preferred before any thing at the present extremity. In the end, Titus told them, that the most effectual and cautious way, would be to run a wall quite round the city, by which means the excursions of the Jews would be prevented, and they themselves be forced to surrender the place, either out of pure despair or necessity; tho' this shall not hinder me, says Titus, to repair the works so soon as the weaker part of those that are left, will prove sufficient to stop the career of the enemy. The difficulty of this undertaking may perhaps be look'd upon as insuperable, but indeed had it been less, there had not been so much glory to be gotten by it: though I confess great things are not to be compassed without the assistance of an Almighty agent. Titus concluded his speech with an order to his officers to set immediately upon the erecting of the wall, and to distribute the whole army into proper stations for their better security, and to expedite the work. This word was no sooner given, but all the soldiers as if they had been transported by a kind of divine-impulse, were fill'd with emulation, who should out-do another; and after the ground was measur'd out, and the legions divided, the same spirit of competition ran thro' the whole body of the army. Titus all the time that the work was carrying on, was so intent upon it, that he let not one day slip without taking the round of it. The wall was begun at the place call'd the Camp of the Assyrians, where also Titus fix'd his quarters, and carried along to the lower Cenopolis, and so forward by Cedron, to mount Olivet, which on the south-side was enclosed so

far as the rock Peristerion, together with an adjacent hill that overlooks the vale of Siloah, thence it winded to the westward, and so on to the Fountain-valley, from this place it run forward to the sepulchre of Ananus the high-priest, inclosing the mountain where formerly Pompey had encamped; thence it turned to the northward, passing on to the village called Erebinthonicus and going yet farther, it took in Herod's sepulchre to the east, and there one end of the wall met with the other. The compass of the wall was thirty nine furlongs; on the out-side of it were thirteen forts built, every fort was ten furlongs about; but the miraculous part of the story was, That the enclosure should be finished in three days, which might very well have employ'd so many months. When the work was perfected, Titus posted guards in every fort, that kept watch all night under arms. Titus himself performed the first round of duty, and Alexander Tiberius the second, and those who had the command of the legions, the third. The watch and the soldiers slept by turns, tho' some of them were constantly on the guard. When the Jews were thus enclosed, they were put to the last degree of despair, the famine swept off whole families at once, and the houses were spread with the carcases of women and children; old men lay dead in the narrow lanes and passages, and the young men walked the streets like so many ghosts. There was no ceremony in burying the dead, some wanted strength, and others the will to that office: there was some that expired in the very act of interring others, and some hastened away to their graves to make sure of a resting-place after death, while they were yet living; and it is remarkable, that in the depth of this solemn misery, there was neither groan nor outcry to be heard, for hunger had silenced all their passions: they stood gazing with hollow eyes and pale looks upon those that expir'd before them. This city was now only a grave of silence, and the dead bodies piled up together on heaps in the night-time. But yet the most deplorable part of the relation was the brutal insolence of the thieves, insomuch that the famine was a calamity far inferior to it: they made their way into houses that were no better than charnel houses, and there they stripped the dead, and made themselves sport with their nakedness; they also made experiments what their sword could do upon the bodies of those that were half dead; tho' if any person cried out for help, and a sword to dispatch himself, he was sure to be repulsed with neglect and cruelty. 'Tis farther observable, that as they were a dying, they still closed their eyes towards the temple, and were deeply concerned, that they should leave those miscreants alive that had profaned that place.

When the people were no longer able to endure the stench of the putrid bodies, orders were given to have them buried at the publick charge; but for want of places for that purpose,

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those impious wretches threw them down headlong over the wall into the valleys, which was so horrid and detestable a spectacle, that Titus going round the place, and finding the ditches all fill'd with corruption and pestilential vapour, he spread forth his hands to heaven, and made his appeal, That it was none of his pleasure to have it so. This was the state of the city at that juncture. Now, while the faction was thus guarded within the walls, it being impossible for them to stir out, the Romans lived at ease, and enjoyed themselves in the abundance of all necessary provisions, which was brought to them out of Syria, and the neighbouring provinces; whereupon several of the Romans came up to the very walls, and exposed their plenty within sight of the Jews; but tho' they were tantaliz'd after this manner, yet they remain'd insensible after all; so that Titus out of meer compassion to so miserable a people, resolv'd to throw up new works, and dispatch the business as soon as possible. The materials were very difficult to provide, that were necessary to carry on the enterprize, for all the wood near the city was already cut down, so that they were forced to fetch timber at the distance of ninety furlongs. Four ramparts were erected more large than the former. Titus knew well enough that he had the faction at his mercy, and he gave them to understand so much; notwithstanding they still proceeded without any sign of remorse, having not so much as the least regard to their own safety.

There was at this time in the city a venerable old man and a priest, whose name was Matthias: he was universally beloved by the people; the Jews it seems had been hard put to it by the Zealots after John had joyned with them, and this same Matthias mov'd for having Simon call'd in to their assistance. This was complied with very unhappily without any conditions and precautions; Simon had no sooner got within the town, but he treated this good man as one of the worst of his enemies; hereupon Matthias was arraigned and accused for holding secret correspondence with the Romans; upon this the sentence of death was pass'd upon the father and the three sons, without hearing what they could say in their own defence. All the favours this good man desired of Simon, for letting him into the town, was, that he might be first executed; but Simon, to keep him the longer in his pain, gave orders that he should be put to death the last of them. This horrible spectacle was expos'd to the view of the Romans, where Matthias was executed upon the bodies of his sons: Simon was not only content to put in practice the sentence, but in a pure frolick of cruelty and mockery, when he was just upon the point to die, You would fain, says Simon, have gone over to the Romans, and let them bring you off now if they can. But, to consummate the barbarity, the bodies lay all unburied, by the command of Simon.

Much about the same time there was Ananias a priest, son to Malsbalus, and well descended; and Aristeus born in Amaus, a secretary to the council, who together with fifteen more of the chief of the people were all put to death, Joseph's father was also put to death, and by a special proclamation, every man was forbidden to come at him; and beside this, it was made capital for any man so much as to pity them.

It happened after this, That the son of Judas, and an officer who commanded in one of the turrets, begun to lay to heart the unmerciful oppression of the Jews, and being mindful to look to himself upon this occasion, he in short, took the first opportunity, to discourse a number of his trusty friends to this effect, How long, says he, shall we stoop under the burthen of this tyranny! And what hopes of safety have we in the service of so cruel a master? The sword and the famine are both to be encounter'd, and the Romans are already as good as within the walls. Simon farther is the most ungrateful amongst men, tho' he lives continually in the fear of punishment; notwithstanding the Romans on the other hand are certainly men of honour and justice; so that in my thoughts we have no more to do than to surrender up the walls for our safety, and the safety of the country; nor indeed has Simon any cause to complain, only he suffers a little sooner.

When the matter was ripen'd to an agreement, Judas sent away the remainder of the people to blind the design, and prevent discovery; and he, about the third hour of the day, called out to the Romans from the turret, and let them understand the resolution they had taken; but the Romans gave little regard to him; tho' Titus, however, drew some troops up to the wall; but Simon in the mean time surprized them in their project, and put the guard to the sword, tumbling their bodies down from the walls in sight of the Romans. While Joseph was now walking up and down at the foot of the wall, and doing the Jews all the service he could, he was unfortunately knocked down with a stone, and the Jews making a desperate sally at the same time, had certainly carried him off a prisoner, had not Titus sent a party to rescue him. While this skirmish lasted, Joseph was carried off before he was well his own man again. The faction were overjoyed, and never doubted but Joseph was slain; and the report passed current thro' all the city, and put the sober minded inhabitants into great consternation for the death of their patron, and their mediator: this news was brought to Joseph's mother in prison, and upon this occasion the women consoled with her; but indeed the mother was not much the worse, nor the faction the better, for so soon as the danger of Joseph's wound was over, he returned to his post again, and gave them to know, that what they had done should cost them dearly, tho' all along he encouraged the people to obedience. Joseph's appearance

appearance cast a damp upon the hearts and resolution of the faction, tho' his friends were immediately restored, and looked very cheerfully upon it.

Upon this extremity, there were several deserters that went over to the Romans, some there were that vaulted the walls, others got out under the colour of pursuing the Romans with stones; tho' indeed their escaping one calamity in the town, was followed with a worse in the camp: for the surfeits they got among the Romans, proved fatal to them, for being empty and puffed up with dropical distempers, they were ready to burst with the little they could eat, but the most deplorable part of the story is yet to come.

When the Jews were in the act of searching for gold, there then was a fugitive surprized among the Syrians, who had swallowed some gold which passed through him; and the faction put all the people to the search, and there was shortly such plenty of gold found, that twelve Atticks were now worth as much as twenty five before. This discovery run quite through the camp, that the deserters had concealed gold in their guts; upon this intimation, the Syrians and Arabians ript up two thousand bellies in one night for the love of the treasure; which I reckon upon as the most inhuman butchery that was ever heard of.

Titus was so transported at the inhumanity of this action, that he had certainly ordered his horse to put all the men to death, had not the number of the guilty exceeded so far the number of the slain. However, his officers were called together, as well auxiliaries as Romans, and when Titus found that several of them had been concerned in this outrage, he began an expostulation with them after this manner: Is it possible, says he to the Romans in the first place, that any soldier of mine should be found guilty of so inhuman a cruelty, for an advantage which was doubtful and uncertain, and not blush at the very thought of such a purchase? Then again to his auxiliaries, Can you think it reasonable, says he, that the murders, and insolencies, and inhumanities of the Arabians and Syrians in a foreign war, where they indulge to themselves all manner of license, should be imputed to the Romans, and all the malice of the one laid at the door of the other?

But because Titus could not altogether excuse his own people, he put it up, threatening death to any man that should offend in the same case for the future. The legions were also appointed to make search after the persons suspected; and he himself would have the hearing of the causes; but, alas! when a people are hardened once in their wickedness, the ordinary means to restore them, prove their utter ruin; and what Cesar had so severely prohibited, was notwithstanding practised upon the Jewish deserters in secret; only the custom they had gotten

was cautious enough, for as soon as the fugitives were come over they made sure that none of the Romans should be within sight, and then ript up the bellies of the Jews for the cursed booty; and when they had done, their vain hopes were all they found. However, these horrid practices terrified the Jews quite out of all thoughts of desertion.

At this time the pillage failing, John made his advance to sacrilege, seizing to his own use several oblations and donatives, with a number of necessary vessels, as cups, dishes, tables, &c. that were dedicated to the service of God; and those very gifts which Augustus and the empress had appropriated to the service of the temple, were taken away. John also encouraged his soldiers to take their full liberties with holy things, seeing it was but reason, he told them, that those who fought in the temple should live by it; so that there was no scruple made of dividing among the people the holy wine, and the oil which was reserved for sacrifices in the inner part of the temple, and as the division was made, the very rabble had their shares of it, appointing and quaffing without any difficulty: in short the wickedness of the Jews was come to that height, that if the Romans had given a respite to the siege, the city would have certainly been destroyed by thunder and lightning as Sodom, or have been drowned in a deluge, or else swallowed up in an earthquake.

It would be a task without end to give all the particular instances of the calamity of the Jews. Maneus, son to Lazarus, had the command of one of the gates of the city, and upon his deserting over to Titus he gave him this account, That from the time their close siege had been laid to the city, there had been carried through that gate one hundred fifteen thousand and eighty dead bodies, which he had taken notice of by virtue of a special commission that was given him to that purpose; and this number he was sure of, besides all those vast multitudes, whom their relations had interr'd; which is to say, that they had thrown out of the city, for they had no other way of burial left them.

Afterwards, by the computation of several learned men that deserted, there were poor people carried out to the number of six hundred thousand, besides all those heaps of others that for want of friends were piled upon one another, and lock'd up in large houses.

A bushel of wheat was valued at a talent at this time; and after the city was walled up, so that no provisions could possibly be imported, the extremity was so pinching that they were fain to rake vaults and sinks for sustenance, and to eat up the very ordure. The naked story of their misery drew pity and compassion from their very enemies; but the faction within the walls, that both saw and felt the sufferings, were not sensible

all this while, that their own foolish obstinacy had been the cause of them; but they proceeded under a judicial insatiation that led them on hood-wink'd to the final ruin of the city and of themselves.

The state of Jerusalem grew every day worse and worse, and as the misery increased, the faction grew more and more turbulent, it was a dismal spectacle to see all the streets covered with dead bodies; the air tainted, and all the passages filled up with carcases that were trampled under foot, like the ruins of a field of battle; and this without the least consideration how soon it might come to be their own case. The beginning was with cutting one another's throats, and then they advanced from an intestine to a foreign war, as if the Divine Providence had not made haste enough to finish their destruction; for the contention was not so much upon their hopes of relief, as out of a pure transport of despair. The Romans, as was hinted before, were hard set to furnish themselves with materials to finish the work; tho' after all the wood was hewn down within ninety furlongs of the place, they had raised their platforms in one and twenty days. But certainly there was never so dismal an alteration from a paradise to a mere desert, and instead of the most delicious place under heaven, for curious gardens and places of pleasure and plantations, not so much as a tree left standing, or a cottage to be seen, but all was covered with the very marks of desolation and ruin, so that strangers themselves could not forbear to weep, when they saw the difference between the old and the new Jerusalem, for the war had so far disfigured the place, that it could scarce be known; and some people enquired for Jerusalem in the heart of the city.

When the Romans had thrown up their mounts, both they and the Jews were equally concerned for the event: for the business of the Jews was either to destroy them again, or to lose the city; and if the Romans had received but one disappointment more, they had been quite put out of all condition to repair their works, for there was no more wood to be gotten, and the soldiers were harrassed with service and fatigue. Notwithstanding the Romans all the while were more sensibly touched with compassion for the calamity of the Jews, than the Jews were for themselves, who had yet some sort of a fatal courage left in the face of all their difficulties; but indeed when the Romans found to their cost, that the wall was firm against all the force of their machines, and that they themselves were worsted by the Jews at hand-blows, their hearts began to sink within them, especially upon this account, that they were engag'd against an enemy, who instead of being discouraged under all the extremities of war and famine, rather gather courage under the opposition they met with, and the misery they felt. What would not those people dare to do, said the Romans, if fortune were on their

side, seeing they behave themselves with such bravery, in despite of all the extremities of hardships and opposition? upon this experiment the Romans doubl'd their guards.

John and his men, in the castle of Antonia, did all that was possible before the rams began to play to prevent a breach; but they lost their labour, for their great design of setting fire to the mount with torches, came to nothing at all; for the truth of the story is, that they did not behave themselves according to the rules of discipline; and so were forced to retreat, and as they fell short of their usual success in such cases, the Romans almost out acted themselves, by placing such strict guards upon the bulwarks that there was no possibility of doing them any hurt by fire; and besides this, they were resolved to a man rather to die upon the spot, than receive so irreparable a loss as that of their works and machines, and the post where they stood, for nothing could have put the common soldiers to greater confusion, than to see brave men baffled by the popular outrage of the Jews: so that still as the enemy advanc'd the Romans receiv'd them with darts; and the first man that fell was an exemplary terror to the second, and served for a warning. Then again, those that in a manner threw themselves upon the Roman weapons, some of them were surprized at their good order and discipline, others marched off with their wounds, and in fine, all of them quitted their ground, every man laying the blame upon his fellow.

The attack was made the first day of the month Panemus, and the Jews being gone off from the tops of the wall, the Romans advanced with their rams towards Antonia, in despite of all the Jews were able to do with fire, with sword and stones; not but that the Jews had a great dependance upon the strength of their walls against the force of the battering rams, tho' they did all they were able that the Romans might not fix their machines. This way of management gave the Romans suspicion that fort Antonia was in danger, because the Jews began to stir themselves at that rate. After all, the battery was continued, and the Romans fortified themselves with their bucklers against the shot and stones that came from above; but seeing these efforts did not meet with success, they betook themselves to digging, and mining, and when they had loosened some stones, which gave them some hopes of a breach, whereupon both parties took a little respite. Whilst the truce (if I may be allow'd to call it so) continu'd, that part of the wall which John had undermined to destroy the former ramparts, fell down unsuspected. The Jews took the same courage to themselves upon this accident, as if Antonia had been still their own; and the joy of the Romans was quickly over, when they had the sight of a new wall, which John had rais'd within the other, tho' indeed the wall could not be suppos'd so firm as the former, tho' the height
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of it was such, that there was no scaling it with safety.

Titus upon this new emergency, bethought himself how much fair words could work upon the minds of men of arms and honour, with this project in his head he summon'd the flower of his army together, and spake to them to this effect: My courageous fellow-soldiers, where there is no danger, there is no necessity for encouragement; neither would it become me to make an offer of it, or you to take it. The work will be difficult enough, I confess, to master this wall that we have yet before us; but courage and great souls were given us for a glorious exploit, and death is something of an advantage when 'tis followed with the reward of immortal fame; and farther, you need not doubt but it shall be my care to reward those that deserve it. Think but of the insuperable patience of the Jews under all their hard fortunes, and what can be more ignominious to the warlike Romans, that make war their very study, that they follow in time of peace, and are so accustom'd to conquest, that 'tis grown almost natural for them to overcome; and after all these considerations to be beaten at last, by those that have the providence of God engag'd against them, and nothing to support them all the while, but their own despairs. The ruin of their walls, the factions, the famine, and the siege, all of them give sufficient proof of the calamity they are at present reduc'd to. It will be far below us therefore to truckle to our inferiors, and neglect the opportunity which heaven has put into our hands. Shall the Jews, that have been bred up in slavery, and consequently have little either honour or credit to lose upon that score; shall these, I say, have courage to charge into the very middle of the Roman army, and look death in the face? And shall we on the other hand, that are effectually the lords of the universe, ly idle, without making one bold attempt upon our adversaries, and wait thus in our arms till the famine shall give us an inglorious conquest? If we do but take Antonia once, the town is as good as our own; or in case we should meet with some resistance from within, which I do not expect, it cannot be worth either speaking or taking the least notice of, seeing the advantage of the higher ground has laid our enemies at our feet. I do not pretend here to run over the catalogue of all those heroes that have fallen in the field of battle, and thereby have purchased themselves a place in the memory of the ages yet to come. As for such, the most abject of wretches, that think of going down body and soul into the grave; I only wish them an exit suitable to the mean temper of mind, which they'll carry with them. There's no man of sense, and any degree of knowledge, that can be so far ignorant of the state of souls departed, as not to understand, that those who fall by the fate of war, are immediately fixed among the stars, and thence make their appearances, and shed their influences upon posterity like good angels;

that they may thereby prepare them for the state of happiness.

But for those that die off the stage in a natural way, their souls from that very instant are buried in darkness, though they were never so pure, and thence forward their names and memories sink for ever, and are utterly forgotten. Now since death is inevitable; and to die by sword is both easie and honourable: how mean and contemptible would it be, to withdraw the use of a life from the service of the publick, which is more than the debt of nature, and what a man owes to the safety of his country?

What I have said, may seem, as I have look'd upon the storming of the wall to be certain death; but it is undoubtedly true, that danger is always overcome by resolution, and he that does not fear, can never despair. The fall of the first wall has opened a free passage to the second, which will also shortly be surrender'd, if you do but stick together, and support one another. Only stand firm; and your very numbers will secure you; none knows but you may carry the day without blood. You must prepare, however, to maintain your ground: and assure yourselves that upon the least advantage, either by force or stratagem, they will never be able to withstand us. And for him that first mounts the breach, it shall be my care, whether he lives or dies, to crown him with reward or honour.

This discourse of Titus cast such a discouragement upon the spirits of his men, that not a soul of them had the boldness to answer the design of the speech, save a Syrian, whose name was Sabinus, being a soldier of the guards, and a man noted both for execution and courage. He had a soul, that as one may say, was too large for his body; he when Titus had done, made his address to him to this purpose: I do here make an offer of myself to Cesar with all freedom, for the first man that shall make the assault: if Titus's fortune do but answer the good-will of Sabinus, all will be well; or if I miscarry in this adventure, what I shall lose on one hand, I shall gain on the other by laying down my life for Cesar, which makes it amount much to the same whether I die or live.

So soon as he had deliver'd himself thus, with his sword in his right hand, and his shield over his head in his left, he advanc'd toward the wall, about the sixth hour of that day, only with eleven men after him, that followed out of pure emulation. Sabinus in this attempt encountred all the stones and shot of the enemy with a bravery that look'd more than human; and several of those that were his seconds, were knocked down in the heat of the enterprize; but that did not discourage Sabinus from pursuing the attack in the very face of all the darts and arrows that were discharged at him, till he had almost mounted the breach, and forced the Jews to abandon the place for fear of a greater intercement; at last indeed to show the malignity of
 fortune,

fortune, when he was just upon finishing the exploit, he was born down with the fall of a stone, and the Jews seeing him lie all along in a manner senseless, they fell upon him with all their darts; and yet he fought, and wounded, and killed several upon his knees, till he had not strength left him to wield his sword any longer, and so breath'd his last; tho' his death was as great and glorious as his life; and in short he fell not alone, for three of his fellows were crush'd down with stones, and eight more were carried off wounded to the camp. Two days after this action, about twenty of the guards of the platforms, with some others, were gotten together, and in the dead time of night they made a silent march of it over the heaps of ruins, as far as Antonia, and there was no opposition from the out guards, for they were all fast asleep, who had, every man of them, their throats cut in an instant; and so soon as they had taken possession of the wall, they sounded a trumpet, which gave the alarm to the other guards, who supposing the Romans to be very numerous, fled immediately upon it. Titus, when he had received this notice, put himself at the head of his best troops, and made his way over the ruins. This was so great a surprize to the Jews, that some of them took their way to the inner-temple, and others to the mine that John had wrought, to destroy the Roman works; but the two factions that belonged to John and Simon, giving all for lost, if the Romans should surprize the temple, there would ensue a very bloody combat upon it, the one side fighting for victory and the other for life: darts and lances were at this extremity thought of little service, because they would not dispatch a man soon enough; so that the sword was the only weapon they employed. In this hurry and tumult there was none could distinguish betwixt his friend and his enemy: the slaughter was great on both hands, and the ground was covered with arms and carcases, for there was no possibility left for either flight or pursuit; there was neither rank nor discipline observed, and nothing was heard but the confusion and out-cry of a mixed multitude. The front of the two armies must at this juncture, out of meer necessity, either kill or be killed, for they wanted room to retreat. The skirmish lasted ten hours; but at last the obstinacy of the Jews got the day of the Romans, for they knew it would be their last effort they could make, if they lost it. The Romans in short were well enough content they had taken Antonia with no more than a part of the army, for those they had the greatest dependance upon were not as yet arrived.

At this time there was one Julian born in Bythimia, a centurion, and a man perfectly well accomplished for all martial purposes: as this Julian was standing with Titus in Antonia, and the Romans already giving ground to the Jews, he took the opportunity, and making a desperate leap among the thickest of

the enemy, he gave them chase in his single person to the very innermost corner of the temple. This action had so much of miracle in it, that they thought there was certainly more than flesh and blood in the man. Julian however pursued his advantage, overturning and putting vast numbers to the sword. Nothing, in short, could have made a more agreeable spectacle to Cesar's friends, and a more gloomy one to his enemies; but, alas! the fatality that pursued him! for having his shoes studded with nails of iron, and being in his full course upon the pavement, he caught a slip, whereupon the Romans raised an out-cry, and the Jews at the same instant returned upon him with darts and swords, and still as he fenc'd them off with his buckler, and strove to recover his feet, he was born down with numbers; and yet such was the temper and truth of his arms, that when they had him at full length upon the ground, it was yet difficult for them to dispatch him; but at last, what thro' weakness, and the loss of blood, and not a mortal to second him, he was forc'd to give way to death.

This misfortune went to the very heart of Cesar, for though he had a great value for the life of so brave a man, yet for the present it was impossible to relieve him: notwithstanding there were some only a small distance off, that might have done it, if they had found the courage to make the attempt. The Jews carried off the dead body, and after they had put the Romans to the second rout, they perfectly shut them up in Antonia. Those of John's party that signalized themselves in this action, were Alexas and Gyptheas; and in the faction that belonged to Simon, there were M. lachias, and Judas son to Metton; Jamis, a captain of the Idumeans! Simon and Judas the sons of Jair.

Titus had now fixed his resolutions of laying Antonia in ruin, and levelling the place for a commodious march to the whole body of his army; and understanding, that on the 17th day of the month Panemus, the usual solemnity of sacrifice return'd, and the Jews being in no capacity to celebrate the day for want of a congregation, which went to their hearts, he employed Joseph another time with a message to John, to know whether he would put the matter to the issue of a fair battle; and if he consented, he should produce what numbers he pleas'd, upon this proviso, that the city and the temple were not left naked and expos'd to common ruin, and that the name of God and his worship should no more be so abominably profaned; and withal, he gave him leave to restore the religious services which had now been discontinued, and to make choice among the Jews of whom he pleas'd to officiate.

Joseph was so zealous to discharge his trust to some advantage, that he did not only deliver the matter to John alone, but mounting an eminence, he communicated the pleasure of Cesar

in Hebrew, to the Jews in common, entreating them to lay to heart the calamity of their country, and to prevent the burning of the temple itself, before the present opportunity should outslip them.

Joseph, in short, had but a sorry sort of an audience of them, and John after several virulent speeches told Joseph, that if Jerusalem was the city of God, there was no danger of it. No question of it, answered Joseph, you have made conscience to keep all things pure, and to pay your duty and obedience to that God from whom you expect your help; would you not reckon that man was one of the worst enemies that should rob you of your daily bread? And yet you make no scruple to rob God Almighty of his daily sacrifices and oblations. And seeing the matter stand thus, you can have no quarrel with the Romans, but only for taking up arms in defence of God's worship, and of your own laws, which you have suppress'd. Never was there so miserable a degeneracy of religion and a civil state! Those who are your enemies and strangers, do perform the offices of friends, whilst you are more cruel to yourselves than barbarians, tho' you are Jews both by blood and education. However, repentance yet is not out of season, tho' the case be desperate. That instance of Jechonias, the king of the Jews, might encourage you in this respect, who, when Jerusalem was besieged by the Babylonians, left the town out of choice, before 'twas forc'd to surrender, and gave up himself and his relations as hostages to save both the city and the temple. The very name and honour of that prince is had in memory to this day, and celebrated in an anniversary solemnity. I cannot recommend you to a more seasonable precedent, and more pertinent to the present purpose; let your offence and your danger be what it will, I dare stake down one life for another, that the Romans will yet forgive you. Think well with yourselves, who the person is that advises you, and to whom I give this encouragement, what moves me to act in this affair, and in whose name I come. Forbid it, heaven! That I should ever submit to become so mean, as to forget what I owe to the place where I was born, and to the laws and rights of my own country: and after all this, what returns do you make me, but new indignities, fresh injuries and railings: and indeed all this, I'm half persuaded, is not yet so ill as I deserve, for attempting to save a people whom fate and providence have decreed to ruin. What can be more evident, than those frequent predictions which we have in history concerning the destruction of this calamitous city! And that the time of it is almost accomplish'd, when the Jews shall raise an intestine war in their own bowels. This now is so far come to pass, that both your houses and temples are polluted with the blood of your own tribes. And all this is nothing else but the hand of God that has punish'd the Jews by the hand of the Romans.

Romans, which in all probability will issue in the ruin of the city by fire.

Joseph could proceed no farther for tears and sobs, which raised an admiration in the Romans at his tenderness, and the humanity of his nature; but the more that Joseph lamented, the more implacable and obdurate were John and his associates, insomuch that they began to contrive a snare for Joseph. Notwithstanding this discourse wrought effectually upon a great number of the nobility; several also of the factions would have gladly gone over to the Romans, when they found their case to be so desperate, but they durst not move for fear of their own guards. Some indeed had the courage to take the opportunity, and give their companions the slip, amongst which were the high-priests, Jesus and Joseph with the three sons of H-mael, who was executed at Cyrene, and four of Matthias's sons and one of another Matthias, who before this had made his escape to the Romans. There were also great numbers that deserted with the high-priests, and were graciously receiv'd by Titus, and sent away for the present to Gophne, having a promise from the emperor of large possessions so soon as the war was over. The reason of their being set apart, was to prevent a mixture of people of different conversations and customs; and they were very thankful to Titus for that freedom. However, when the Jews within the walls could not see the deserters from their walls, they raised a spiteful report, how that the Romans had dispatch'd them as fast as they deserted: this invention succeeded well enough on the side of the Jews for a while, but Titus being sensible of the stratagem, sent for all the deserters back again from Gophne, and commanded them to walk round the wall with Joseph, and shew themselves to the Jews, which brought abundance of proselytes over to the Romans. Upon this occasion they placed themselves within sight, and pressed the faction with all sorts of importunities, begging of them to let the Romans into the town, that the country might be deliver'd from ruin, and the city and temple from fire. All these persuasions did but incense the factions against the fugitives who planted their engines and slings upon every gate and corner, made the temple look liker a place of arms, than religious worship. They broke thro' also into the holy sanctuary with their swords warm, and reeking in the blood of their countrymen, and advanced to such a degree of extravagance and irreligion, that the Romans themselves paid a greater reverence and respect to the Jewish rites and ceremonies, than the Jews did to their own; every soldier among the Roman army had a veneration for the temple, and the God who was worshipped there, and would gladly have brought the faction to reason, while there was room for mercy: and indeed the misery of these wretches went so near to the very soul of Titus, that he was resolved to try yet one

one experiment more, and to see how far good nature and indulgence would work upon Jolin and his confederates, which he did in these words: Let me know, ye irreligious miscreants; What all the inscriptions, both in Latin and Greek, all the bars and partitions were for round about this place, forbidding all persons, upon the severest penalties, not to pass this inclosure? Nor have we ourselves been less regardful of your rights and privileges, in making it a capital crime for any man to break thro' these bounds, not excepting the Romans themselves. How comes it about after all this, that the sanctuary is prophesied with murders, and all kind of inhuman cruelties? How comes the temple to be defil'd with both foreign and domestick blood. I make my appeal to the Gods that are both worshipped in my own country, to your high-priest, and to the Jews that fled to me from death and famine, and finally to your very selves, that I am altogether innocent of these inhumanities. And farther, I do promise by all that's sacred, that if you will but yet comply, and forsake this holy sanctuary, no man shall approach, or offer it any violence; however I am resolv'd to protect the place, whether you will or no.

Titus, upon this occasion, made use of Joseph for his interpreter; but the faction took the fairness of his words by the wrong handle, and concluded they came from fear, rather than any inclination to mercy; and upon this mistake the Jews grew more insolent than before.

Upon this Titus took up the resolution to carry on the war, tho' it was contrary to the goodness of his nature; and being now within the walls, he had not room enough to draw up his whole army, so that he detach'd the number of thirty out of each company, and a tribune at the head of every thousand, and Cerealis to command in chief: this detachment was to have fallen upon the guards of the enemy about the tenth hour of the night, and Titus himself was to have led on the attack; but a council of war being call'd, 'twas the opinion of all the officers, that Titus should rather post himself upon fort Antonia, whence he might see how his men behaved themselves, without bringing himself within the compass of danger; beside that it would inspire the soldiers with new life and courage, to fight under the inspection of Cesar.

Titus was at last persuaded to comply with the common voice, and so retir'd to a watch tower in Antonia, where he had the whole scene of action before his eyes; notwithstanding he gave strick orders to his officers, that they should take particular notice who behaved themselves remarkably, that they might be rewarded or punished accordingly. These preliminaries were no sooner settled, but an hour was appointed to make the assault. The Romans did not meet with their enemies sleeping this time, but the advanced guards came immediately to blows, and

and with noise and clamour they rous'd all their fellows, and so in an instant had whole multitudes to second them: the Romans repell'd the fury of the first shock with abundance of bravery, but the Jews that followed to the skirmish fell on indifferently, and being in the dark they could not distinguish their friends from their foes, but were only led by the impulse of rage and fury. The Romans all the while kept themselves in tolerable order under the cover of their bucklers, and knew one another pretty well by the word or signal, so that they shifted well enough, and the Jews kill'd more of their own men than the Romans could do. But so soon as they had day-light, they were sensible of their mistake, and betook themselves to a more ready way of combating, and to handling their darts and arrows. Both parties were now as fresh and vigorous as if they had been a doing nothing all the night. The Romans knew well enough that they fought under the eye and inspection of their general, so that there was a noble emulation who should do best; and the Jews at the same time had their temple and their lives at stake, with the tyrant John the very foremost among them, who sooth'd some with fair words and treated others with blows and menaces. This combat was most of it hand to hand, but with various tossings both backward and forward, because they had no room for either flight or pursuit. Antonia was now the very theatre of the battle, where Titus and his friends were the spectators of all that pass'd, who called out to the actors one while to stand their ground, another while to follow their advantage as they saw occasion. This battle lasted from the ninth of the night, to the fifth of the day following, both sides standing to their grounds. There were several among the Romans that behaved themselves worthy of the names of heroes; but the more remarkable of the Jews were these, in the party of Simon one Judas, son to Merton; and Simon the son of Jolias; Jacob the son of Sosa; and Simon the son of Cathias. Among John's men were Gyptheus and Alexas; and of the Zealots there was Simon son to Jair.

Within the compass of seven days after, all the works of Antonia were turned up to the bottom, and a broad passage cut out for all the legions to march up to the wall, where they began to work immediately, and cast up four mounts; the first was rais'd over against the corner of the inner-temple, that looks north and east; the second was thrown up against the gallery to the northward betwixt the two gates; the third was rais'd towards the west porch of the outward temple; and the fourth toward the north porch: but the labour of these works were almost infinite, seeing all the materials were fetch'd at the distance of 100 furlongs from the place, besides the many surprizes they met with on the way, for the Romans were often too regardless, and the Jews were rash and bold, especially in this extremity.

It was a common thing with the Romans when they went a foraging, to turn their horses loose, and the Jews frequently upon such fair opportunities would make a sally and carry them off. This happened so often, that Titus began at last to take notice of it, and imputed it to the negligence of the Romans, not to the daring industry of the Jews: and thus far his thoughts were in the right, for upon putting one man to death for the loss of his horse, the soldiers never parted with their horses after. The platforms being now rais'd, and the Romans in a condition to mount their works against the temple, there was a rabble of the faction that came out, and made an effort of their power upon the Roman guards towards mount Olivet, in hopes of either taking them at unawares, or finding them retir'd or drawn off from duty: the Romans saw the storm a coming, and so taking the hint in time, made a produce of all the strength they had in that place, and so put a stop to a more daring attempt they had projected upon the wall; though when all was prevented that was possible, it came to a bloody battle, and there was great actions done on both sides; for the Romans valued themselves upon the credit of their honour and their courage; and the Jews flattered themselves by false hopes into a kind of mistaken valour: one side fought for fame, the other out of pure necessity; for the Romans looked upon the Jews as noos'd effectually at this time, so that they could never have wiped off the disgrace, if they had suffered the Jews to have slip'd back again; who on the other hand had no ways to save themselves, but by force of arms.

History has a wonderful story of a Roman Cavalier, Pedanius by name, which is thus: the Jews being once put to the rout, and pursued by the Romans into the valley, this Pedanius pushed after them full speed, and overtaking a young man very corpulent and heavy armed, he took him off his horse, by one leg, in the middle of his career, and carried him prisoner in this manner as a present to Cesar. Titus had both the address and strength of this man in high esteem.

To return, the Jews found themselves to grow weaker and weaker very sensibly every day, and the war to be hotter the longer it lasted, and the danger began to threaten the temple itself, so as men do in cases of spreading distempers, they began to set fire to that part of the temple-gallery which stretched from north to east, and stood opposite to Antonia, where they soon made a breach of twenty cubits length; so that with their own hands they wrought the final destruction of the holy place; when the fire that was put to the gallery had destroyed the full compass of fifteen cubits, the Jews pull'd the roof off it; and so proceeded to cut off all communication with Antonia, though all this while they might have saved the temple, if they would; but the prevention of imminent danger was all they aimed at; there

there happened some skirmish or other daily, the enemies being now so near, and the temple remaining as the prize of victory.

At this time there was an ill-looking dwarfish figure of a man that was a Jew, he was dispicable in the regards of fortune and family, and Jonathan was his name: this fellow went a rambling one day to the monument of John the high-priest, and there he began to talk at a vain-glorious rate of himself, and gave the challenge to the best man in the Roman army to meet him with his sword in hand; there was no body to take him up, for some despised him, and others, as is frequent in those cases, were afraid of him; some they said were not for fighting with a man that had a mind to die; others would not answer a challenge from those that are in despair, and regard neither God nor man: beside, there was no honour to be won; and a brute and a man were great odds: however, when he had waited a long time, and had been throwing the cowardise of the Romans in their teeth, there was one Prudens an arrogant sort of a Roman cavalier, that stepped out, which made diversion enough for the spectators; this fellow advanced in a careless kind of contempt of the Jew, and getting a stumble, Jonathan made his own advantage of it, and killed him as he lay along; when the deed was done, he trampled upon the body, and began to vapour with his buckler in his left, and his sword in his right-hand, and at the same time insulting the Romans at an insufferable rate; but whilst he was in the height of his exultation, Priscus, a Roman centurion, shot him through the heart with an arrow, so that he dropt dead upon the body he had slain himself. This put both the Jews and the Romans into a clamour, tho' the matter was look'd upon only as a just judgment upon Jonathan for making a boast of his merit, when 'twas fortune had done him the obligation.

The faction within the temple was now at an open war with the soldiers that were plac'd upon the mounts, and on the 17th of the month the Jews began to think of this stratagem: they fill'd up the roof of the western porch, betwixt the timber and the top of it, with a great quantity of dry wood, bitumen and sulphur, so that upon a pretence to give way when the first attack was made, they suffered themselves to be beaten out of it; whereupon a company of rash inconsiderate fellows among the Romans follow'd them close; tho' some were a little more prudent and apprehensive: however, they had no sooner scal'd the porch, and, as they thought, carried all before them, but the Jews put fire to't, and all was in a blaze in an instant, to the amazement even of those that were happily beyond the reach of it, and the most dreadful horror and confusion imaginable, to those who were engaged in it; some plunged down into wells and pits, others leaped head-long from the tops of their houses, and

and some ran this, and some that way; some were smother'd in the flames, and others cast themselves upon their swords, that by one death they might prevent another.

This miserable spectacle went to the very heart of Cesar, and moved him with a very tender compassion to the calamity of such a miscarriage; not but that he was highly incensed at the rashness of his men to venture upon such an attack without orders. But, however they had this to ballance the loss of their lives, that Cesar pitied them for they could see him calling and labouring here and there, and doing all that was possible for their relief; and at this time every single instance of his affection was esteem'd as a memorial of lasting honour.

As for those that escap'd the fury of the flames, they were yet beset by the Jews, and after a vigorous resistance, every man among them was put to the sword. A world of brave men there was that fell by this stratagem: but none greater than one Longus, whom we cannot overlook in this place. Longus was a Roman, and in the heat of his youth, and the Jews found him a very dangerous and daring young man, yet they had no way to cut him quite off, unless they could get him among them, upon a promise that he should return safe; his brother Cornelius took notice of it, and call'd out to him, that he should do nothing that the Romans or himself should have reason to repent and be ashamed of. Upon this, Longus drew his sword in the sight of both parties, and put an end to his life.

There was also one Antonius that delivered himself from the flames by artifice; for when he was reduc'd to extremity and seeing a comrade of his own within call, catch me, said he, in thy arms, and so break the force of my fall; the other upon this dispos'd himself to receive him, but the weight of Antonius crush'd his fellow to death.

This misfortune was a great discouragement to the Romans for the present, but it did them this service, that they afterwards kept themselves upon their guard against the flight of the Jews: the porch was destroy'd as far as the tower which John had rais'd in his war with Simon, and the Jews after the Romans were effectually dispatched, they broke down the rest.

On the next day the Romans also put fire to the north porch, and so carried it before them to the eastern porch, which overlooks the valley of Cedron, from the top of a precipice which will turn a man's brains to look down.

This was the aspect of matters about the temple: as for the city, it was well nigh without inhabitants, which the devouring famine had dispatch'd. In every family there was a war where meat was but suspected; and a piece of bread at this season would have broken the tenderest friendships in nature. Those that to all appearance were at their last breath could not yet be believ'd that they died of hunger; for the very bosoms of those whom
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the famine killed were yet search'd and rifled in hopes to find a loaf, or a little bread.

There was a certain woman from beyond Jordan, whose name was Mary, the daughter of Eleazar, she fled with several others in company, and taking Jerusalem for a place of refuge, where she had the fortune among others to be besieged: the tyrants robb'd and stript this lady of all that she brought publickly along with her, which was of any considerable value, and for other things that were concealed, her house was daily broken open. Upon this hard usage the woman fell with very bitter and most outrageous language upon the faction, and yet by all the provoking means she could make use of, she could not prevail with them to put her to death. In this extremity when she had nothing for the support of life, she resolved upon the most unnatural method that was ever heard of.

She had a sucking child lying at her breast to which she marched up, and looking compassionately upon it. What, says she, can I do to thee, thou most unfortunate infant that has been brought into the world under three of the most dreadful judgments, as famine, rebellion and war; which of the three shall I reserve thee for? The Romans I believe would give thee thy life, but not thy liberty along with it, famine will certainly prevent slavery; but for the present tyrants, thou wilt find them worse beyond comparison than the other two. What better office art thou in thy captivity to pay to thy starving mother, than to supply her with a meal's meat! and so to put the Jews almost to the blush with the horror of the fact, and to crown all their crimes with the one that is truly execrable, and wanting to the perfection of their misery. With these words she killed her child, dress'd and eat one half for the present, and the other she kept cover'd up to regale herself a second time. The faction soon perceiv'd the smell of the inhuman cookery, and so came forthwith to the woman's house with all the menaces of death, if she would not bring out her provisions: the woman shew'd them all she had, which was the remainder of the child; at which sight, they stood like statues, and fell a trembling, look here, says the woman, this is a part of my own son, and this dish is of my own dressing. The one half I have eaten myself, and I pray do you eat the other. I hope you won't pretend to be more nice and curious than a woman, or more tender and compassionate than a mother; but if you make a conscience of it, part of it is already dispatch'd, and do you leave the remainder where you found it. Upon this they fled off, quaking with the horror of the barbarity they had seen, and so left the half of the child to the unhappy mother.

The noise of this inhuman execution was presently spread all over the city, and every one manifested such an abhorrence of it, as they had been, as they really were, all guilty of the crime.

crime. The terror of the famine made men weary of living, and those that had life as yet, they envy'd the dead that were taken off before the extremity was come this height.

Cesar made his appeal to God, that he had done all he could to make the Jews happy in the enjoyment of their lives and liberties, but if they had rather be cutting one another's throats, than live peaceably, there was no remedy for them. And if nothing else would serve their turn but the firing of the temple, and killing and eating their own children, he was resolv'd to bury their own iniquities in the ruins of the city, and not to leave such a people under the sun, that had arrived to such a degree of enormous and inhuman wickedness. Titus, after this, began to cast his thoughts upon the obstinacy of the faction, and gave them all for lost, for if the miseries they had already suffered would not work upon them, and bring them to sense and reason, there was nothing remaining would reclaim them.

Two of the legions had now brought their platforms to perfection, and Titus now ordered the rams to be planted against the western gallery of the temple, and so began to play the best piece of battery for six days together, but to no purpose, for the temple works were proof against the engines. There were others at the same time that sapp'd the ground-works on the north-side, and when they were convinc'd that by a world of labour they could only loosen some few of the outward stones without doing any damage to the rest, and as for the porch it stood as firm as ever, they thereupon betook themselves to their scaling-ladders.

The Jews could not possibly hinder them to place their ladders, but where they had an advantage, they made a brave resistance, fighting those that got up hand to hand, casting others down headlong as they were just mounting, and overturning the ladders, men and altogether, so that in the end the loss of the Romans was very considerable, especially in the skirmishes they had in defending or recovering their colours, which is one of the nicest pieces of honour among sword men: but in the conclusion the Jews got the ensigns, and slew the bearers: however, to give the besiegers their due, there dy'd not a man among them, but fell like a Roman; and those of the faction that had done bravely in former actions, did so still, in which number was Eleazar son to Simon the tyrant. Titus was convinc'd by this time that by sparing the Jewish temple, he did but consume his own men, and so ordered them to put fire to the gates. Upon this new extremity there deserted over to Titus, one Ananus of Emmaus, a soldier of Simon's guard, and with him Archelaus son to Magadathus, these deserters flatter'd themselves, that they should be better received for leaving the faction on the winning hand; but Titus was so thoroughly inform'd of the horrid practice and pretences of these men, that he had once resolv'd

solv'd to cut off both their heads, however, upon a second reflection he overcame his former resolution; and gave them a pardon, tho' he never design'd to repose the least confidence in either of them.

The gates, as was hinted, were by this time in flames, the silver work about them all melted down, and the timber consuming in a blaze. insomuch that the fire had reached to the next galleries. This you may well conceive was surprize enough to the Jews to see themselves encompassed with flames, insomuch that they stood gazing one upon another, without so much as attempting any thing towards their own relief, or so much as concerning themselves for saving what was not yet consumed. They had neither strength nor heart left them; and all that day the fire got ground, and the night following, till by degrees the galleries were burn'd down.

When the next day appear'd, Titus issued his orders to quench the fire, and to level the ways that his army might make a freer march; after this a counsel of general officers was call'd, their names were as follows: Tiberius Alexander, lieutenant general; Sextus Cerealis. commander of the fifth legion; Lorgius Lepidus. commander of the tenth; Trygius, of the fifteenth. And these others to advise with all, as Externius Fronto, captain of the two Alexandrian legions; and Marius Antonius Julianus, governor of Judea, with colonels, and other officers to fix what measure should be taken about the temple: some were for having matters push'd on according to the utmost strictness and severity of the law of arms, for they said, that so long as the temple was on foot, and the Jewish meeting continu'd there, they would never be quiet; others were for reducing it to ashes; not under the name and notion of a temple, but a castle. But Titus interpos'd here, and said, if the Jews remain obstinate, and convert a temple into a citadel; must I therefore revenge the rebellion of men upon the insensible stocks and stones, and so lay the most glorious fabrick of the universe in rubbish for their sakes. The dignity of Rome would suffer by't, if we should deprive the empire of an ornament so illustrious. Now so soon as Fronto, Alexander and Cerealis understood what Titus would have done, they immediately came over to his opinion, whereupon they dismiss'd the council, only using necessary orders that the soldiers should refresh themselves that they might be the fitter for action. Some select battalions in the mean time were call'd out to look after the fire, and make some passages over the ruins. The Jews were very quiet for some time, being quite toil'd off their legs. The day following indeed, when they had gather'd a little heart and courage, they made a very desperate sally thro' the eastern gate, upon those that guarded the outward temple. The Romans stood in their ground, the first shock under the cover of their bucklers; but

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this could not possibly have lasted long, had not Titus, who saw the action from Antonia, come in the nick of time to relieve them; he brought with him a choice body of horse, so that the Jews were obliged to retreat upon the first charge; and the Romans breaking in upon their front, the rest betook themselves to their heels; but so soon as the Romans began to draw off in order, the Jews rallied and return'd; thus they fought interchangeably, till the fifth hour of the day, at what time the Jews were forced back into the temple. Upon this success, and the temple standing still as a place of refuge for the Jews, Titus drew off to Antonia, with a resolution to assault the temple the next morning with his whole army; but the Author of all things in his wise Providence had ordain'd its destruction by fire, and the decisive day was now just at hand, which was the tenth of the month Lous, and the very same day on which it had formerly been burnt by the king of Babylon. But this conflagration the Jews brought upon themselves, for Titus had no sooner left them in quiet in the temple but the faction made a sally on Cesar's guards as they were at work, by his own orders, to put out the fire; these put the Jews back to the temple again.

But to come to the fatal stroke, there was a soldier that without any pretence to orders or authority, and indeed without any conscience for so impious a fact, took upon him to act by impulse: this fellow got upon the shoulders of one of his comrades, and threw a flaming brand into the golden window that stands towards the apartment on the north-side of the temple. The place took flame immediately, and was followed with a most dreadful out cry among the Jews, who bestirred themselves to their own relief, with all possible speed: for it was now no time to spare their own lives and persons, when the only thing that was dear to them was in imminent danger. The news of the fire was soon brought to Titus, as he was just a laying himself down in his tent to take a little rest after all the fatigue of the day: he immediately leapt up, and taking his chariot, drove forthwith to the temple to see what means he could use to extinguish the fire. Cesar, in short, did all that could be done to stop it, but all was as good as nothing: he made use of all words and signs, but to no purpose, for the greater noise quite drown'd the less, and they were as blind to the motions of his hand, as they were deaf to his words. Besides, the soldiers were not to be govern'd by menaces or commands, but were all of them led by the transports of rage and passion; some were trampled upon and trod to death among the crowd; others were choked in the smoaky ruins of the galleries that were over the porches: the common soldiers that were in the temple, pretended that they could not hear the commands of Cesar; but this was but to cloke their disobedience; the men that fol-

lowed

lowed after them, gave the word to those before them, to throw fire. The rebels had no way in the world left them to prevent it, but what way soever they turn'd, there was nothing but blood and destruction before them. The poor people, and those that were unarmed, were put to the sword wherever they were met. Mountains of dead bodies were piled up about the altar, and streams of blood flow'd down the stairs, with multitudes of dying creatures weltering in their own gore. When Titus saw there was no restraining the rage and fury of his soldiers, and that the fire daily gain'd more ground, he took some of his chief officers along with him into the inward temple, when upon a strict examination, he found that the glory of the place exceeded by far all that he had ever heard of it from the Jews themselves. But Titus observing that the sanctuary was yet untouch'd, and thinking that it might not be too late, he earnestly invited his soldiers to do all that was possible to save it, giving orders also to Liberalis a centurion to see to it, and to cudgel those that refused. But what thro' an intemperate rage, and an impotent fondness of war and blood, neither respect nor threatenings were sufficient to keep them within the compass of their duty. Others were altogether bent upon the booty, not doubting, but that where the doors were plated with gold, they should find an infinity of treasure.

While Cesar was so very intent upon the saving of the temple, some of the soldiers at the same time set fire to the posts of the doors; whereupon Titus and his captains were forc'd to withdraw, when they perceived that no good could be done, so that the temple was burnt down at last, in spite of all that Titus could do to stop it. This last calamity is enough to make ones heart to bleed, which is no less than the ruin of the most wonderful fabrick that ever was seen, both for magnificence, state and structure, for the honour of religion and sacred things. But there's this reflection to be made, that an uncontrollable fatality attends all the creation, and disposes of all creatures both animate and inanimate, and it is something remarkable, that the temple should be laid in ashes in the same month, and on the same day that the conflagration happen'd. We compute that one thousand one hundred and thirty years, seven months and fifteen days were run, since the building of the first temple by Solomon, to the second year of Vespasian, in which the temple was destroy'd; and we also reckon that six hundred thirty-nine years and forty-five days were spent since that of Haggai, to the conflagration of the temple.

When the temple was thus in a flame, the soldiers took all they could lay their hands upon, and kill'd all that came in their way; so that both the slaughter and the pillage were prodigious. There was now no respect paid to age or sex, to young or old, to sacred or profane persons, for the priests and the lay men all

of them shared in the several calamities of war, and whether they made some resistance, or submitted themselves, whether they were stubborn, or begged for quarter, they fared all alike. Now as the fire made advances, the crackling of the flames made up the calamitous consort of dying groans; and what betwixt the precipice, and the extent of the fire, all the city seem'd but one continu'd blaze. The uproar and the hurry were so terrible, that 'tis impossible to imagine that any thing could be more so. The howlings of the rebels when they found themselves at the mercy of fire and sword, and the dreadful lamentation of distressed wretches in the temple, were horrors that can't be express'd; those upon the mountain, and those in the city answering one another by turns, the flames opening the eyes of those that the famine had almost shut, and inspiring new strength and ability to deplore their misfortunes; the neighbouring hills and mountains beyond Jordan echoing over the same complaints that were first of all poured out by these poor wretches. Tho' after all, the weight and extremity of their misery, could not be express'd by all their complainings.

The flames of fire from the temple were so large and furious, that the mountain on which the temple stood, seem'd like one entire body of fire to the very bottom; and the blood that streamed down was answerable to the flame, for the number of the slain was superior to those that did the execution. The ground was covered with carcases, and the living pursued over the bodies of the dead; tho' in the end a band of ruffians beat the Romans back, and having made their way into the outward temple they escaped into the city, and the remainder of the multitude followed them as far as the porch.

In this engagement there was a great number of the priests that made use of the temple spits in the room of darts, and of their seats, with lead in them, instead of stones; but when they saw that all would not rescue them, and that they were pursu'd both by men and flames, they hid themselves for a little time under the cover of a wall that was eight cubits over. Two of the principal men among them were these; Merias son to Belgas, Joseph, son to Daleus; these two might have saved themselves, had they gone over to the Romans; but they chose rather to stand or fall with their companions, and plunging themselves in the flames, they had the same fate with the temple.

When the Romans saw the temple laid in ashes, they did not reckon it worth their while to trouble themselves with any of the other buildings, and so set fire to them all at once, beginning with the gates and galleries; two houses indeed were exempted, one on the north, and another on the south side; and these also, not long after, had the same fate of the rest. The treasury was also laid in ashes, and the ward-robe, with jewels and money,

money, and abundance of riches, for all that the Jews had that was precious, was deposited in this place.

By this time there was a mixt multitude gotten together into one gallery, without the temple, that was yet standing, to the number of six thousand persons; but before Titus could issue his orders concerning them, his soldiers had put fire to them in a brutal fury, and play'd it so also, that every soul of that number was either burn'd or threw themselves among the ruins and perished.

This mischief was occasioned by an impostor, who pretending to revelations and divine impulse, told the people they should go to the temple, and receive protection; now 'tis common in adversity for men to believe the best, especially when protection and safety are promised.

However, we see that these people would credit an impostor to their own destruction; but when they heard the words of truth, either by monitory prognosticks of their approaching desolation, or by some other prodigies, they had neither eyes nor ears, nor hearts to make a right application of them in time, and so pass'd them by without regarding them; as for instance, what can be said of the dreadful comet that hung over Jerusalem for one whole year together, in the form of a sword.

What shall we farther think of that amazing light which was seen about the altar, a little before the revolt, on the eight of the month Xanathius, and at the ninth hour of the night upon the celebration of the paschal feast, and continu'd for the space of half an hour as bright as the sun. This prodigy was look'd upon by the more ignorant sort of people as a good omen, but those that knew better things, expounded it as a forerunner of war; so that these men could unfold the mystery before it came to take effect.

Upon that same festival there was a cow deliver'd of a lamb in the middle of the temple, as they were leading her to sacrifice at the altar.

The eastern gate of the inner temple was molded of solid brass, and so very massy, that it was as much as ten men could do to shut it at night; and besides it was secured with brass and iron bolts, that slipp'd down into a threshold of a large stone; and this gate about the sixth hour of the night opened of itself, without a visible hand to help it, and upon the notice of it being carried to the officer that had it in charge to look after, he could scarce make it fast again. This also by the vulgar was taken for a good omen, but those of a deeper understanding made a quite contrary judgment, and said, that the opening of the gate betokened some favour to the enemy, and predicted the destruction of Jerusalem.

When the festival was over, and on the twenty-fifth of the month Artemisius, there appear'd a vision so uncommon, that

I should not dare to relate it, were there not several eye-witnesses yet alive that can attest the truth of it. A little before the sun went down, there were seen here and there up and down in the air, chariots and men in armour that spread all over the country, and hovered in the clouds round about the city.

At the feast of pentecost, as the priests were a beginning to officiate, they heard a voice at first that was indistinct, but a little after it called out in articulate words, **LET US GO HENCE, LET US GO HENCE.**

I now come to the relation that is more extraordinary than all the other: about four years before the war broke out, when the city was yet in profound peace, and abounded in plenty, there was one Jesus, son to Ananus, a homely sort of a country fellow, who coming up to the feast of tabernacles, brake out on the sudden into this exclamation over and over: a voice from the east; a voice from the west: a voice from the four quarters of the world; a voice to **JERUSALEM**; a voice to the **TEMPLE**; a voice to new married men and women, and a voice to all the nation.

This was his cry day and night, in every place, from street to street in the city. Some of the leading men in the city were offended at such an ill-boding liberty, and ordered the man to be taken up, and whipp'd severely; he took his punishment very patiently, without offering a word in his defence, but still he went on denouncing and repeating the same thing over again. The magistrates began now to suspect, as they had reason, that there was something of a supernatural impulse in what he said, and that there was some spirit at the bottom of what he said.

Upon this he was carried to Albinus, then governor of Judea, who caused him to be lashed till the very bones appeared, but he bore all without either supplication or tears, only in a mournful voice, as loud as he was able, he followed every stroke with a woe, woe to **JERUSALEM**. Albinus, being his judge, began then to examine him, and so to ask him whence he came, and what he meant by proceeding in that manner; but he could get no answer of him; and this was his way all along, till Albinus was forced to discharge him as a mad man. From that time, to the beginning of the war, he never spoke to any of the citizens, or made them so much as a visit, nor did he ever make use of any other than that boding form of words, woe, woe to **JERUSALEM**! He did not so much as give those one hard word that scourged him constantly, nor those a good one that fed him; but his answer to all people was his usual and ominous presages. He was always observed to be more troubled upon festivals than on other days; at this rate he went on for seven years, and neither his voice nor his strength failed him till the siege of the city verifi'd his predictions; and after this, he walked round on the walls, crying out with a

stronger voice than was ordinary, woe, woe, to this CITY, this TEMPLE, and this PEOPLE! And at last he shut up all with a woe, woe be to myself! and that very instant he was slain with a stone that was discharged from an engine.

I suppose here is now sufficient said, to convince mankind, that the destruction of the Jews was entirely from themselves, and that the Divine Providence did not omit any thing that might have conduced to their safety, if they had but made a right use of it. But indeed when a people is so plainly forewarned, and yet takes not the least regard, their ruin lies plainly at their own door. 'Twas a wonder how the Jews came to be so infatuated, that after the taking Antonia, they should make the temple into a square figure, seeing they were conscious of the prediction, That whenever it should be made square the city should be taken. But indeed the chief incitement of this war, was the doubtfulness of that prophecy that said in those days, there should arise a prince out of Judea, that should have dominion over the whole world. Now the Jews applied this prophecy to their own nation, and so opposed the Roman power with all imaginable vigour; which was a great instance of their ignorance, for this prediction belonged to Vespasian (which by the way was an erroneous supposition) who was elected emperor in Judea.

The rebels, as was hinted before, were now fled into the city, and the temple continued still in a blaze, so that now the Romans lodged their ensigns against the eastern gate, and with loud acclamations proclaimed Titus emperor. There was upon this occasion a world of booty gotten, and gold in Syria fell to half price.

There was a child among the priests upon the wall that asked of the Roman guards, only a sup of drink to quench his thirst, which they freely granted him, upon promises of good behaviour on both sides; the child went over and drank, and then filled a flagon, and made such haste with it to his friends, that the Roman guards could not overtake him. The Romans hereupon charged the boy with the breach of agreement; but he made his defence, and told them; that his errand was only to come and fetch a little water, and that his staying with them was not mentioned; and the Romans finding the deceit so innocent, they were pretty well content to be cheated.

When the priests had continued five days more upon the wall, they were forced to surrender themselves because of extreme hunger. The guards convey'd them to Titus, who threw themselves at his feet for mercy; but he told them, that they should have come sooner, and seeing the temple was destroyed, it was but reasonable the priests should have the same say; whereupon they were order'd to be executed.

The heads of the faction were extremely perplexed at this juncture,

juncture, being surrounded on all hands, and to come off was now an impossibility; so that they proposed a conference with Cesar, who out of the goodness of his nature, and the inclination he had to save the town, consented to it, in hopes that the rebels might be brought to better terms for the future. Titus, in order to the interview, made a stand on the west side of the inner-temple, beside the gate that leads into the gallery, where was a bridge that made a communication betwixt the temple and the upper-town, and which, as matters stood then, parted the Romans and the Jews. The soldiers flocked together on both sides about their generals; the Jews on one part, to learn what hopes they might have of pardon; and the Romans on the other hand, to hear what Titus would say to them, who in the first place command silence, after which he deliver'd his mind to them by the help of an interpreter; thereby letting them know, that it was his right to speak first, which was to this effect.

And is not your country in misery enough yet, d'ye think, good people? Says he, will you never be wrought into a sense of your own weakness, or of the power of the Romans; but like so many distracted men, bring both your temple, your city, and yourselves into the same common ruin? Were you ever at ease and peace since Pompey laid your city in rubbish? And now nothing will serve you but an open war with the Romans: Do you depend upon your numbers, why you are convinc'd that you are not able to deal with one part of our army: Or is it the faithfulness of your allies, that you value yourselves upon? As to that, tell me the nation under heaven that is not less or more in alliance with the Romans? And those I'm sure had rather have Romans than the Jews their friends. If the strength of your bodies be an argument of advantage with you, take notice that the Germans are our subjects. And as to the firmness of your walls, are they stronger than the ocean, which is the wall of BRITAIN? The people of which island, with that fence have not been able to withstand us. If you depend upon the courage and resolution of your leaders, you know we have been a match for the Carthaginians themselves. After all, it is certainly the humanity of the Romans, that has rais'd up enemies against themselves; we have also given you the liberty to exercise the laws of your own country, and live as you list both at home and abroad; and, what is more than all other acts of humanity, we have allowed you the liberty of gathering and employing what contributions you please, for maintaining your religion and the worship of God; and what is the upshot of all these favours, but only to put you in a capacity of doing us the greatest mischief; you have behaved yourselves like serpents that sting those that take them into their bosoms.

It is presum'd, that the contempt you had for the heaviness

of Nero, made you quite forget the peace you enjoy'd, and put you upon the most extravagant design. My Father did not enter Judea with an intention to correct you for your defection from Cestius, but only to work a reformation among you by sober advice and good counsel. Had the ruin of the nation been either his design or his business, he would certainly have begun at Jerusalem, the root of all, rather than in Galilee, and these parts adjacent, which he did out of a design to give you leisure to repent.

You made all the advantage possible of our divisions at the death of Cesar, and so soon as my father and myself were gone into Egypt, you took the opportunity of forming a war against us: And notwithstanding all the evidence he had given you, of our tenderness and humanity in the government of these provinces, you had yet the forehead to enter upon practices against us, after my father was declared emperor, and myself Cesar, nay, and when we were quietly and peaceably established in the empire by common consent, and the compliments of foreign ministers, who, but the Jews would be still our enemies! As was evident by the embassies and expresses that were sent as far as Euphrates, that you might have assurance and encouragement to revolt; when my father sent me, tho' with reluctance enough, to bring a stubborn rebellious people to reason, how was I pleased to hear they had some inclination to peace! How earnestly did I beg of you to prevent the calamities of war before there was a blow struck! And you can't say but I have made the war as easy to you since as I could, and I never refused a man of you that offered himself. Have I ever broken faith with any man that ever came over to me? How tender have I been to your prisoners! and with what unwillingness did I proceed to the battering your walls? When did I get the advantage of you, and did not immediately offer terms of peace, as if you had been the conquerors? When I had the opportunity to destroy your temple and might have done it by the law of arms, I constantly requested of you to save yourselves, and all that was holy which belonged to ye. I offered you the liberty to walk off, and that upon terms of security too; and, when nothing but fighting would please ye, I gave ye your own choice of the place and time; and what's the product of all this come to at last, but the burning of the temple with your own hands, which I would gladly have preserved. And yet you have the impudent boldness to invite me to confer with you; and you appear in arms, without submitting yourselves like supplicants for a pardon. However, to let you see the ground you have for this miserable confidence; your people are dispirited, your temple laid in ashes, the city in my own power, and yourselves at mercy; and yet you would gratifie your ambition, and insist upon terms of honour now in the last extremity: But to leave these

these expostulations, lay but down your arms, and I will be content to give you your liberty, and when necessary justice is done upon the blackest criminals, you will find me a merciful master to the rest.

The faction made him this answer: That they could not yield themselves up upon any assurance he could give them, because they had ty'd themselves with an oath to the contrary; but however they were willing to quit the town to the Romans, and be gone with their wives and children into the desert. But Titus could not forgive this insolence, to see prisoners insist upon conditions, and giving laws how they should be disposed of, upon which he instantly caused a proclamation to be made, that no Jew should for the future presume to make any application to Titus, or expect either quarter or protection; but that they might now defend themselves by arms as well as they could; for Cesar was resolved to act according to the rules of war. Upon this the soldiers had their liberties given them to fall on with fire and sword, and make what spoil they could in the city.

However, there were no hostilities committed that day; but next morning the register office was set on fire, with the council chamber, the castle, and a place call'd Ophlas; the flames spread thence to queen Helen's palace in the middle of the mount, destroying all before them.

On the next day, the brethren and the sons of king Izates, with some other persons of honour, joyn'd in a petition to Cesar for their lives; and Cesar, tho' highly incensed, granted the request, but they were all of them ordered to prison; and afterward, the sons and nearest relations of Izates were carried bound in chains as hostages to Rome.

The next retreat that the rebels made was to the king's house, which was very strong, and had abundance of treasure laid up in it; but the Jews were beat out of this house, and about 8400 of them slain, and all the money seized. Two Roman soldiers were taken alive in this encounter, the one a horse, and the other a foot-man; the latter was kill'd, and dragg'd along the streets, as if the Jews had intended to revenge their whole nation upon a single person. The horse-man upon a pretence, that he had something of importance to communicate to Simon, but having nothing when he came before him, he was ordered to be put to death by Ardalas, one of Simon's officers: but as the executioner was drawing his sword to dispatch him, he slipped away to the Romans, and Titus indeed spared his life, because he had given the slip to the Jews, but he was cashier'd for it, which to a man of honour is punishment enough.

On the day following the Romans routed the Jews out of the lower town, and so put all in flames as far as Siloah; but the rebels had carried off the booty into the upper-town, and they

were not such as would repent of any mischief, for they kept up their arrogance in the worst of fortunes. The flames of the city were then a spectacle of joy to them. and they profess'd, that they would welcome death with comfort; for by this time indeed most of the Jews were cut off. the temple turned to ashes, and the town all in a flame, so that the Romans had but a few accommodations left them to revel in.

And notwithstanding that things were at this pass, Titus did all that he could to save the ruins of a depopulated city, but all his labour proved in vain, the Jews were grown accustomed to blood and slaughter.

In this madness and contempt of death, they spread themselves all over the city, searching among the ruins in the vaults, and other places for deserters, and so many of them as they took they kill'd; several of them went over to the Romans, with no other intention than to take one life, and lay down another; the streets upon this occasion were cover'd with carcases from one end to the other.

The last hopes that the faction conceived were, That they might hide themselves in vaults and sinks, till all was over, and the Romans gone, and that then they might have an opportunity to escape; but, alas! they did not consider that these kind of recesses would not conceal them from the all-seeing eye of Justice. The Jews that were possess'd of these retreats, did a world of mischief yet, for they kill'd and robb'd and plunder'd all that came from the sanctuary to these caverns; and though the food was never so coarse, yet 'twas sure to be the cause of new quarrels, so that I am persuaded had the siege continued, the living would have been so inhuman as to have devour'd the flesh of the dead.

The upper town was seated so upon rocks and precipices, that Titus found it was impossible to gain it without mounts: hereupon, about the twentieth of the month Lous, he began to put his project in practice; the carriage was very difficult and expensive, for they had all the materials to cut down from their former works. The four legions rais'd a mount opposite to the Place Royal, on the west-side of the town: the auxiliaries and others threw up another mount towards the bridge and the gallery, and a fort that Simon built in his war with John, which was commonly known by the name of Simon's-tower. Now at this very time the Idumean officers were consulting how they might desert over to the Romans; so in the conclusion they sent five deputies to Titus with an offer of their service and a submissive request of mercy; this petition was indeed too late; yet Titus, upon an opinion that Simon and John would lay down arms after such a desertion, sent back the deputies with a promise of their lives, for he looked upon the Idumeans as the most considerable part of the army, considering how the

Jews

Jews were reduced. But, alas! this contrivance had taken air, and Simon caus'd the five deputies to be put to death, and their leaders to be imprisoned, taking Sofas for one of the chief in that conspiracy. And tho' there was not much left to hope from the common soldiers now the officers were gone, however, the Idumeans were kept under a stricter guard than ever; but all was too little to hinder them from running away; many of them, 'tis true, were cut off, but there was more that escaped, who were all very kindly received by Titus, for he would not revoke his promise; and indeed the common soldiers among the Romans had now a glut of blood, and began to be more merciful and humane than before.

As for the common people among the Jews, there was whole families of them sold like beasts in a market; but Titus reflected upon this with abhorrence, so that out of an inclination to save as many lives as he could, he was forced to dispense with his proclamation, that forbid any single person to come over to him; however, he had supervisors of them to make a difference betwixt the good and the bad, and so to treat them accordingly; and Titus in a little time set upward of 4000 of them at liberty.

There was now one Jesus, a priest, and son to Thebuth who made a composition with Cesar for his life, promising in return to deliver up some of the donatives and vessels and other ornaments that belonged to the temple, so that he had his liberty, and went out and gave Titus over the wall two candlesticks like those in the temple, with some tables, cups and goblets, being all of them made of pure gold, he gave also several vails, precious stones, and sacerdotal habits, with a great number of vessels for sacrifice. There was taken at the same time one Phineas, who was keeper of the holy treasure, and he brought a great many priests habits and girdles; stuffs, both purple and scarlet; there was also a quantity of cassia, cinnamon, gums and perfumes for daily incense, besides several sorts of holy ornaments, and private goods. Now for the sake of the service he had done, tho' he was a prisoner of war, yet he was treated as if all he had done was out of pure good will.

The works were finished by this time, having been a raising eighteen days, so that now the Romans advanced their machines; and that part of the faction that despair'd of defending themselves, forsook the walls, and retired into the castle, and other private houses and vaults; but those of them that were yet more resolute, staid upon the wall, and acted offensively against those that managed the batteries, tho' the Romans were superior to them in number and strength, and had the advance over the Jews, and being flushed with victory, whilst the Jews were dejected like an unfortunate people, and they no sooner had the least notice of any flaw or breach in this

wall, or that any of the turrets gave way to the force of the engines, but they scoured off as fast as they could; and this dread went so far, that John and Simon were seized with a panick fear, and fled before the Romans were within distance of doing them any mischief. It would have moved the compassion of any person to have seen the knees of those men knocking one against another, as if they had been sinking to the ground, tho' but just before they were in the height of arrogance and presumption. Never a more wonderful change! 'Tis true, they made an attempt upon the wall of circumvallation, that the Romans had run about the town, and in short, they made a breach in it, with a sort of resolution to set upon the guards, and make their escape; but when they saw they had none to second them, and that all their friends had forsaken them, they hurried away whither their fears and necessities drove them. In this variety of terrors, every body made a story, that the wall to the west-ward was overthrown, some brought the news that the Romans were just at the root of it; but these relations were framed as their fears suggested.

Both the power and goodness of God were remarkable upon this occasion, for the tyrants ruined themselves by quitting those strong holds that otherwise could never have been taken but by famine; and this, after the Romans had lost so much time upon places of less strength and value: however, by this means the Romans made themselves masters of three impregnable forts, by meer fortune, which could never have been taken any other way, for the towers already mention'd could never have been shaken by their batteries.

So soon as John and Simon were driven out of these towers by a sort of judicial infatuation, they fled away to the vale of Siloah, where they refreshed themselves a little, and then gave an assault to the new wall there; but it was so faint and weak, that the guards beat them off, for what thro' despondency, dread, and misery, they had quite lost all their strength, and upon the first repulse they were all scatter'd into links and gutters.

The Romans having now gotten possession of the wall, they fixed their colours upon the towers, with acclamations and shouts of Joy, because they found the conclusion of the war so much easier than the beginning; and they were as good as sure that the war was near at an end, for they could not doubt of it, unless they distrusted their own eyes. The soldiers immediately dispersed themselves all over the town, with their swords drawn, killing all they could meet, and burning whole houses, and what furniture they had within them, in one common flame. In many places where they entered for pillage, they found whole families dead, so that from the very horror of such a spectacle, they came out empty handed; but tho' they had
some

some compassion to the dead, they felt no tenderness for the living, but stabbed every man they found, till the narrow passages were choaked up with dead bodies, and channels in the streets ran down with blood; in the evening they left off to kill, and began afresh to burn. The eighth of the month Gorprieus put an end to the conflagration of the city; and had all the happiness that ever Jerusalem enjoy'd been but equal to what it suffered in the siege, it had doubtless been the envy of all the world; but the greatest plague sprung out of its own bowels, I mean that infernal race of rebels, that wrought the destruction of the city.

Titus was now taking a full view of the works and fortifications of Jerusalem, and entertaining himself with the large dimensions and situation of the towers, the design, and curious contrivance of the whole; when he dropt this expression, Well, says he, had not God fought for us, we could never have made ourselves masters of these forts: 'twas God that assisted us, and fought against the Jews; for this design could never have been compassed with hands or engines. When he said this, and much more upon the same subject, his next care was to set all the prisoners at liberty, which the tyrants had forsaken in the towers. And when the city was demolished, he took care that these turrets should be left standing, as monuments of his good fortune, without whose help, he could never have accomplished what he did.

The soldiers were now quite harass'd with doing execution, so that Titus ordered them to hold their hands, and to cease the slaughter, unless they met with some in arms, and in a posture of resistance, and to give quarter to all the rest. Tho' the soldiers went beyond their commission, and put both the sick and the aged with their companions to death promiscuously; and those that were strong, and promised some service, were shut up in the temple. Cesar had appointed one Fronto, both a friend and a freeman, to inform himself concerning the people, and treat them according to their deserts; and as for the seditious and the companies of the ruffians, he had them all executed for recriminating one another; those of comely and graceful aspects, and in the prime of youth, he preserved for the honour of the triumph; sending away all above seventeen of the remainder into Egypt, to be employed in drudgery and servile offices, excepting only such as were distributed here and there among the provinces for service of the theatres in the quality of sword men and Gladiators; and all under seventeen were exposed to sale.

While the prisoners were under Fronto's charge, eleven thousand of them were starved to death, betwixt the squeamish stomachs they had gotten, and the severity of their keepers, that would allow them no victuals; but indeed the truth of the mat-

ter was, that the mouths were too many for the provisions that could be procured.

The number of prisoners taken in this war, was ninety-seven thousand, and that of the dead was eleven hundred thousand, and the greater number of them were Jews by their nation, tho' they were not natives of Judea: for it was only a promiscuous multitude of them that was gather'd together at Jerusalem, to celebrate the feast of the passover, and were there surprized by the war. The number of them was so prodigious, that they were streighten'd for lodgings, insomuch that the crowd first brought the plague among them into the city, and the next mischief was, that they made way for the famine; not but that the city was capable enough of entertaining them all, especially if Celsius's account was true, which was as follows:

Nero had the Jews in so great a contempt, that Celsius made it his suit to the high-priest, that some measure or other might be taken to number the people; this he did out of a desire he had to let Nero understand, that the Jews were not so contemptible as he imagined; now the first opportunity the high-priest had to gratify Celsius, was at the Paschal Feast, when sacrifices were offer'd up according to custom from the ninth to the eleventh hour of the day, and those sacrifices to be eaten afterwards in their families, by ten at least and sometimes twenty to a lamb; then it was, that they reckoned up two hundred fifty-six thousand, and five hundred oblations, which according to the computation of ten to a lamb, would amount to two millions five hundred and fifty thousand persons; (but here Joseph's rule of multiplication has failed him) and these people were entire and sound, for none that were unshim, troubled with gonorrhea's, women in their monthly sickness, lepers, scorbuticks, or in fine, those that had any sort of malignant distempers, could be admitted to the priviledge of having any part in this solemnity; no more were any strangers, but only such as came purely for the sake of religion. Now all this vast concourse of people from abroad before the siege, was afterward by the just judgment of God coop'd up in the city as in a prison: But the heaviest judgment of all was, the vast numbers of the slain, some were kill'd openly, the Romans kept others of them in custody, and search'd the very sinks, and the vaults, and the sepulchres for them, and all they found alive they put to the sword. There was above two thousand that either laid violent hands upon themselves, or kill'd one another by consent, beside all those that perish'd by the famine. The vapour that arose from the corruption of the dead bodies was enough to infect all those that came within the reach of it, some were not able to endure it, and so went out of the way; and others were so set upon the booty, that they stript and rifled the carcases, and tramp'd upon the dead bodies as they lay rotting in their corruption.

corruption. Thus avarice swallows all things. The judgment overtook the two tyrants at last, for John with his fellows in the vaults, were forc'd at last to beg that mercy of the Romans which they had so often despis'd; and as for Simon, he after a long struggle with his necessities, was forced also to deliver up himself; the latter of them being reserv'd for the triumph, and John made prisoner for life.

Thus, in the second year of Vespasian, was Jerusalem taken, and on the eight day of the month Gorpheus; it having been taken five times before, viz. by Azoches, a king of Egypt; Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, Pompey, and Herod, with Sosius, who did all of them preserve the city after it was taken; but Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, laid it all waste about one thousand three hundred and sixty years, eight months and six days after it was built.

The first founder of it was Melchizedek a Canaanitish prince, whose name signifies a just king, and indeed so he was in a very eminent degree; he first of all dedicated this city to God, erecting a temple in it, and did the office of a priest; he gave it the name of Jerusalem, which before this time was called Solyma. When David, who was king of the Jews, had driven the Canaanites out of this city, he planted his own people there; about four hundred and seventy-seven years and three months after this it was laid waste by the Babylonians; from David's reign there, till it was destroyed by Titus, it was eleven hundred and seventy nine years; and two thousand one hundred seventy seven from the foundation of it. But neither the fame, the wealth nor the antiquity of the place; nay, nor the honour and religion of it, were sufficient to secure it from the decrees of fate. When the Roman soldiers had now nothing left for them to discharge their spleen upon, Titus to find them employment, ordered them to lay the city and the temple level with the ground, and commanded them very strictly to leave nothing standing but these three turrets, Phasel, Hippicos, and Marsamue (which last quite overlookt the rest) and a little piece of the wall to the westward, where he design'd to fix a garrison; but the towers were to stand as monuments to future ages, of the Roman power and conduct in taking them. These orders of Titus were punctually fulfill'd, and the city so effectually levell'd, that one would have thought it had never been inhabited. This was the last upshot of the most glorious city in the universe.

Cesar was now making a resolution to leave the tenth legion for a garrison in Jerusalem, with some other force that he could well enough spare; and having discharged all the offices of a careful general, he began now to bethink himself how to reward and encourage those who had signalized themselves in the siege. That he might the better accomplish his design, he
mounted

mounted a tribunal with the flower of his officers about him; this tribunal was raised in the head of the camp, upon an eminence, where he could stand to the best advantage; and thence he deliver'd himself to this purpose; It is impossible for me, says he, to tell you, my brave fellow-folders, how kindly I resent all the services you have done me during this war: and so he enter'd a discourse upon their good discipline and obedience, their invincible courage and resolution upon all occasions, and in the most frightful dangers; he forgot not to tell them the renown they had acquired, by raising the honour, and enlarging the boundaries of their country. He gave them also to understand, that neither the superiority of numbers, the advantage of fortifications, nor the outrageous madness of the hair-brain'd multitude could ever dispirit the Roman courage, or discompose their conduct. 'Tis true, the Jews have had some fits and turns of good fortune, but 'tis a great matter to put an end to a war that has been so long on foot, which is as much as could be either thought of, or wish'd for, when we first embark'd in it. But it is yet a greater thing to see your choice of Roman emperors and generals so universally well approved. He told them, that he could not but admire and love them all for what they had done so worthily: as for those who had made themselves examples of bravery to others, it should be his own care to make them very grateful returns in proportion, for he took more pleasure in advancing men of merit, than in punishing the unworthy offenders. Upon this, Titus immediately called for the accounts from the officers that had it in charge, that he might know which of the soldiers had behaved themselves worthy of honour in that war; the men were produced one and one by name, and extremely applauded; Titus telling them, that he had as much concern upon him for their good as for his own. From these fair words, that yet laid obligations enough on them, Titus proceeded to acts of bounty and generosity, he crown'd them with coronets of pure gold and silver out of the booty they had taken; he deck'd them with golden chains, and distributed lances pointed with gold and silver medals; and, in short, every man was advanc'd both in quality and station; robes and minuted money both in silver and gold were given them out of the booty. When the distribution was done, and every man had received something or other answerable to his desert; Titus descended from the tribunal, accompanied with the universal acclamations of all the army, to offer sacrifices and thanks for the victory. Vast numbers of oxen were slain upon the occasion of this solemnity, which were offered in sacrifices, and distributed among the army; and Titus himself feasted his officers for three days together. After this the troops were dispersed into several quarters, and Jerusalem was left under the guard of the tenth legion, which was not upon that ac-

count suffered to return to Euphrates whence it was taken. Titus reserv'd the fifth and the fifteenth legions as a guard to accompany him into Egypt; so that with these he made his first journey to Cesarea upon the sea-coast, and winter being well advanced, he would not venture over to Italy; his present care was therefore, to lay up his treasure and the booty, and to secure his prisoners.

Titus first removed from Cesarea to Cesarea Philippi, where he entertained himself a considerable time; and at this juncture was Simon taken, and the manner of his being seiz'd was thus: Simon, as was hinted, being forced into the upper-tower, and the Romans breaking into the city, he was put to all his faculty of contrivance how to shift for himself; however, his method was this: he called together an assembly of miners, stone-cutters, smiths and others that were well skill'd in ironworks, and getting a provision of tools, and such a quantity of victuals, and so they let themselves down into a secret vault, where so soon as they found the passage too narrow for them, they began to dig and mine in hopes to work themselves out beyond the walls, and so to make an escape; but before they could make any thing of it, their provisions fell short, and the plot miscarried, tho' they manag'd matters as sparingly as they could. Simon had now no way in the world left him, but to try if he could fright the Romans out of their senses; so he dress'd himself up in a white garment, and threw a purple cloak over it; in this condition he made his apparition from beneath the ruins of the temple, to the astonishment of the soldiers, and others that saw the spectre; but upon their advancing near him, they took the courage to enquire his name; but Simon refusing to acquaint them, call'd to speak with the captain of the guards; whereupon Terentius Rufus was brought immediately, who presently sifted the truth out of him, and clap'd him up in chains, and sent Cesar the particulars. Thus was that inhuman tyrant brought to justice, who had sham'd so many of his countrymen out of their lives by subornation and false evidence. But there's no contending with Divine vengeance, when it vindicates the cause of injur'd innocence. Simon was carried off to Cesarea, whither Cesar had made his return; who ordered him to be kept for his triumph at Rome.

When Titus had spent some time there, he set one intire day apart for the celebration of his brother Domitian's birth-day, which was perform'd in great splendor, a great number of condemn'd prisoners being devoted to the honour of the solemnity, and those that were destroy'd by beasts, by fire, and combat, came to two thousand and five hundred. Titus went thence to Berytus in Phœnicia, where he kept his father's birth-day, with more magnificence than the former; the entertainments were more expensive, and the spectacles extraordinary.

THE WARS OF THE JEWS.

At this juncture there were great numbers of Jews at Antioch, who suffered the severest extremities from their ill neighbours, nor indeed were they themselves innocent in the matter: but it was Antiochus that deserted, that was at the bottom of the mischief, for he accused the Jews of a conspiracy to burn the city; and so soon as the people heard the accusation, they were forward enough to believe it, and thereupon dispatch'd as many of the Jews as they could.

After this, the square market, and the publick repository, where the registers and writings were kept, were actually burn'd down; which was thrown immediately upon the Jews, on the bottom of the former accusation, which rais'd a severe persecution of them, tho' the innocence of the Jews was found out at last, for the mischief was transacted among a parcel of scoundrel debtors, who thought if they could but destroy the writings, the debts would not be required.

Cesar was now intent upon his journey to Rome, which he made thro' Syria; and when the people of Antioch understood that he would give them a visit as he pass'd, they went out to meet him, and received him with all the demonstrations of joy; and as they saw their opportunity, they requested that he would banish the Jews out of the city; but he returned them for answer, that he had destroyed their city, and laid their country waste, so they could have no place to retire to; but when the Antiochians were repuls'd in their first request, they petitioned once more that the brazen tables which contained the immunities and privileges of the Jews might be taken away; but Titus gave them a flat denial. After a tedious journey Titus arriv'd at Alexandria where he sent off the two legions that had been his guard, the fifth to Mesia, and the other to Pannonia; keeping John and Simon, with other prisoners to the number of seven hundred, in order to make his triumph of them. When he got safe to Rome, his father met him in person, and received him with great joy; and because that Vespasian was lately arriv'd, they concluded to make but one triumph for both, tho' the senate had decreed them two. When the day prefixed for this solemnity was come, there was not a citizen that remained at home, but all got places to see that pompous appearance. The soldiers also expecting the emperors before day, near the temple of Isis where they lodged; and as the day brake, they came forth unarmed, cloathed with purple, and crown'd with laurel: but the pomp and magnificence of that day, is quite beyond the power of expression; nay, imagination itself cannot do the matter justice, for the whole collection of precious rarities that the richest and most happy nations had been gathering for so many ages, were produc'd on this occasion to the honour of the triumph, and dignity of the Roman empire. But the images and pageants, and whole procession cannot have justice done to them for want of

of room. However, when the triumph was over and the empire fix'd, Vespasian built a temple to peace: It was as rich as expence, and as fine as hands could make it; in this temple were laid the GOLDEN TABLE and the CANDLESTICKS, which were rarities he most admir'd; and as for the laws of the Jews and the purples that belonged to the sanctuary they were deposited with great care and reverence in the palace.

After all, Judea did but enjoy a very small share of peace, for new disturbances were rising daily; besides, it is a very difficult matter to root out a people entirely, that have inhabited a place so long.

When Lucilius Bassus had receiv'd his commission from Cesar, as lieutenant-general of Judea, he took the command of the army upon him, and made himself master, by composition of the castle of Herodion. Whereupon he gathered his troops together, thinking by the assistance of the tenth legion to reduce Macherus, because till that place was secured, there was still some fear of rebellion. This city is wonderfully fortify'd both by nature and art; but upon a close view of it, Bassus begins to lay siege to it, and first of all he threw up a mount against the castle. Upon this, the Jews separate themselves from the foreigners, and turned them off, as a scoundrel sort of people, into the lower town, that they might support themselves as well as they could under the first shock, while they took the charge of the castle upon themselves, as a place that might be defended with greater ease, and whence they might insist upon terms with the Romans, in case of extremity. The Jews had the curiosity to try whether they could withstand the siege, and every day there were some sallies and skirmishes, in which there was a considerable number of men lost on both sides, and now one, and then the other side got the better of it; the Jews when they were aware of them, made a retreat.

There was within the walls one Eleazar, a very bold enterprising young man, he made several very desperate sallies; and did all that was possible both by example and counsel, to put a stop to the progress and designs of the Romans, insomuch that he became a terror to the Romans, as well as a comfort to his friends. One day their happened a skirmish, when the action was over, Eleazar stood without the gate in a careless posture, discoursing with the defendants upon the walls; this being within sight of the Roman camp, one Rufus an Egyptian seeing his opportunity, ran upon him, and grasped him arms and all, and carried him off, into the enemies camp. Bassus order'd that Eleazar should be stript naked, and whipt at length within sight of the city; this put the Jews into terrible fears for the calamity of the brave young man, and the whole rabble of them burst out into tears and exclamations: so soon as Bassus perceived they were concerned at the misfortunes of the man, he thought

that the only way to gain his point, was to raise their compassion yet higher, which succeeded to this wish, for upon erecting a cross, as if Eleazar was to be immediately crucified, the garrison brake out into lamentable cries, that their affliction was insufferable; Eleazar also begg'd of them to consider his extremity, who was now to suffer a wretched death, as all their own, and not to contend any longer with the courage, conduct, and the fortune of the Romans, especially since the very universe was now subject to that empire.

This submission of Eleazar's, and the prayers of his relations, for the family he came of was considerable, quite melted the garrison into tenderness, so that they sent deputies forthwith to the Romans to treat with them, who promised, that Macherus should be surrendered, if Eleazar might be releas'd, and the garrison suffered to retire where they pleas'd. Bassus readily consented to the conditions, but in the mean time those in the lower town were highly displeased, that this affair should be transacted, and they not consulted in it; hereupon they took up a resolution to give them the slip by night out at one of the gates, but they were surprized by the Romans, and none but the foremost and the boldest among them could make their escapes. However, this did not hinder Bassus from performing his articles with the rest.

When this siege was over, Bassus made what haste he could with his army to the forest of Jarden, upon some intelligence he had received, that great numbers of the rebels were gathered there that had escaped from Jerusalem and Macherus, and when he came to the place he found it was true; his first business was to beset the wood with his horse, and there he kept such strict guard, that not a Jew could break thro'; at the same time he employ'd his foot to cut down the wood where the Jews had hid themselves, insomuch that there was no possibility left them to escape, unless they could cut their way thro' the Roman guards. However this last experiment they were resolved to try, and gathering all into one body with an impetuous clamour, made one desperate push of it, but those that begirt them received them as bravely. The battle, in short, what betwixt true courage and temerity, was very hot; but in the end the Romans had the day, with the loss only of about twelve kill'd, tho' on the other side, of three thousand Jews, there came not a man off.

About this time Antiochus king of Comagena, and all his family fell into a very calamitous disaster; for Cisennias Petus, then governor of Syria, sent word to Cesar, that Antiochus and Epiphanes his son were ready to revolt from the Romans; whereupon Cesar left the management of that affair to Cisennias, who immediately made an invasion upon Antiochus, which was the greater surprize, in regard he had never in the least dreamt of the matter; however, to give evidence of his innocence, he

left the kingdom as it stood, and took only his wife and children along with him; but the trick was discovered at the long run, and Antiochus received very honourable treatment from Vespasian himself.

Bassus being now deceas'd, Flavius Sylvia fill'd the government in his room, and finding all the country to be reduc'd but one rebellious castle, call'd Massada, which was in the possession of the Sicarii, who were headed by Eleazar; Sylvia hereupon gather'd all the forces he could make, with an intention to attack it. These Sicarii, or cut-throats were profess'd enemies to all that were the friends of the Romans, and persecuted them to the height, often driving away their goods, burning and pillaging their houses: for what are these men, said they, better than strangers and foreigners, they betray the liberty of their country for want of fighting for it, and chuse rather to live as slaves than to enjoy themselves as freemen, notwithstanding that freedom is what can never be purchas'd at too dear a rate. Whether is it not better for these men to join openly with the Romans?

But all this was only to cloke their avarice, for when these very men whom they thus exclaim'd against, came to join with them in the revolt, they were worse persecuted than before.

Certainly there was never any age that could run a parallel with the Jews.

Sylvia, as was mentioned, had now begun his march to besiege Massada, where the Sicarii had lodg'd themselves with Eleazar. He made himself master of all the country round about with much difficulty, and left garrisons as he thought expedient, and then surrounded the castle with a wall, to prevent the excursions of the Jews; after this he encamp'd upon the place where the castle rock was join'd to the mountain: provisions were very dear, being brought a great way, and with much more difficulty to the Jews than the Romans. The siege was like to be a work of labour and time, because of the natural situation of the castle upon a rock, which had very steep precipices round about it: there were two ascents to it, one on the east side from the lake Asphaltitis, which is extremely dangerous; the other on the west side, which is the more easy of the two.

There was so fruitful a plain above, that those could never want necessaries that took refuge there; and as the castle was defended from all stratagems, and the very dint of famine, so it was furnished with a magazine of arms of all sorts, for ten thousand men. The Jews being now closed up by blockade, that there was no possibility to make an escape; Sylvia drew near with his machines, and he had but one place that could be fill'd up, where he might raise a mount, and so soon as he had gained this rock, his soldiers wrought so hard, that they carried the mount up to the height of two hundred cubits, which they thought was not firm enough to support the engines, whereupon they rais'd a platform

form to the heights of fifty cubits, and upon this they erected a tower fifty cubits high, which they laid round with iron.

From these works the Romans, with abundance of shot from their engines, drove the Jews off the walls, and did not suffer them so much as to peep over. The wall was continually battered with a ram of great weight, which notwithstanding did very little execution; the Sicarii understanding that the wall could not secure them any long time, ran up another wall within, upon which the ram could not make any impression, because 'twas not hardened and confirm'd: Sylvia perceiving this, came to this conclusion, That fire would dispatch the business much sooner than the engine; so he commanded his soldiers to throw some firebrands upon the wall, which soon kindled the wood that the wall was made of.

When the flame began to rage, there arose a north wind which was troublesome to the Romans, in regard that it pointed the flame against them; and beside, they despaired to save their engines; but immediately after, upon a providential turn of the wind, the flames were again directed upon the wall, which now receiv'd the fire at the very bottom. Eleazar, in this extremity, could not think of flying, nor would he suffer any of his companions to escape: whereupon he called an assembly of the best of them, and bespoke them to this purpose: My generous countrymen, says he, we are all of us resolv'd never to become slaves to the Romans, and to pay homage to none but the true God; and here we have an extremity before us, that will try our courage and resolution; let us not therefore stain our honour, and submit ourselves to the most deplorable torments, by being taken by the Romans, seeing we made the first revolt from them, and are now the last that remain unsold. And I esteem it a mercy, that we may have the opportunity to die out of slavery, which has been denied to others. We must certainly die as soon as the day appears, but then it is in our own power to die like men, and not to be carried away captive, which is impossible for the Romans to prevent. I must own indeed, that Almighty God has left the nation of the Jews, or he would never have suffered so many of them to perish, and his own city to be delivered up into the hands of our enemies. All our hopes are defeated, and God himself has manifestly taken this castle from us, which we thought impregnable, for the fire which was once carried upon our enemies, was returned again upon us: but all this is no more than a just punishment of our offences, who have committed such outrages against our countrymen. However, if we die resolutely, we shall preserve our wives from being defiled, and we ourselves shall die in liberty, which is the best of sepulchres. Let us first of all fire our castle, and destroy our treasure, which is the greatest mischief we are capable of doing, for by this means the Romans can neither enrich themselves with

spoil,

spoil, nor take our bodies alive; however, we'll leave them our victuals as a testimony that it was not famine that destroyed us.

When Eleazar had made an end, all the company would not consent to kill themselves, for the tenderness that they bore to their families, tho' some of them seemed willing enough: upon this Eleazar was afraid the tears of one party would melt down the other, and so he stood up, and made a very vehement discourse upon the immortality of the soul; the marrow of it is as follows: You shew yourselves, says he, to be more than ordinary men, in refusing to die, rather than live in these circumstances; for what can death have in it of terror? It only gives our minds a dismission from prison, and sends them to their native home, to a place where calamity can never come. Our souls are in a sense dead, while they are immersed in the body, but when they go hence into UPPER-WORLDS, they enjoy perfect felicity in their eternal mansions; there they remain as invisible to the eyes, as God himself does. The very Indians have so strong a love for immortality, and so firmly believe that departed souls have a communication with one another, that they send messages to the souls separate, by those that are departing; nay, the notion is so violent in them, that they throw themselves into the flames to get rid of life; why then should we, who know more of these matters than they, stand in suspense about it, especially in the middle of death and danger?

These and many other things he suggested to them; but the multitude interrupted him, and as if they had been surpriz'd, strove which should have the honour first to execute his advice.

They embraced their wives and children, then took their last farewell, and slew them all at once; when this was done, they gathered all their riches together, and threw them in the flames, and with all imaginable speed proceeded to chuse ten men that should execute all the rest; when the election was made, they prostrated themselves upon their wives and children, and died in that posture; so soon as these ten wretches had executed all the rest, they cast lots which of them should kill the other nine; this last sad office being done, the living man went among the multitude of the slain, to see if any wanted his hand to help them thro' with their last agonies; but finding them all dispatched, he put fire to the place, and then with all his force, sheathed his sword to the hilt in his own body, and so fell among his dearest friends. In the end not a soul was left alive but an old woman, with another, who was Eleazar's cousin, these two, and five children took their refuge in a cave, where they were provided with some water. The Romans in the morning expected that they should meet with a vigorous opposition, made bridges over from the mounts to the wall, and so attack'd them; but when they met no enemies, but found all in profound silence they all at once raised a cry, which was heard by the women in the

the cave, who came forth to the Romans, and told them all that had passed; which appeared so incredible, that they could not believe it, till they came and saw the dead bodies. However, they did not insult over them, but brake out into wonder and amazement at the generous greatness of the minds of the Jews, and their obstinate contempt of death.

Sylvia settled a garrison in Massada, and so marched his army to Cesarea, leaving the country in perfect peace behind him.

The Jews in Judea were now so perfectly subdu'd by the war, that not an enemy was to be heard of in those parts. The remainder of the Sicarii was now fled into Alexandria, where they did a world of mischief, fomenting the rebellion, and debauching the loyalty of the people; however, they smarted for it soon after, for five hundred of them were seized at Alexandria, and the rest fled to Thebes, and into Egypt, where they were apprehended; tho' not a man of them would own Cesar for his master to save his life.

Lupus was at this time governor of Judea, and he sent Cesar notice of all these tumults, who was so well acquainted with the humours of the Jews, that he thought he could not be too cautious of their meetings and cabals, thereupon he ordered Lupus to demolish the temple of Onion in Egypt, of which temple take the following account.

Onias, son to Simon, and high-priest, being expell'd Jerusalem in the time of the war betwixt Antiochus king of Syria, and the Jews, withdrew himself to Alexandria, where he was very kindly receiv'd by Ptolemy then king of Egypt, as being partly an enemy to Antiochus, and partly upon a condition which was agreed upon betwixt them; and it was this: Onias took upon him to bring the Jews over into Ptolemy's interest, if he would but grant him one request: Ptolemy promis'd him, that he would do it, if it was within the compass of his power; so Onias begg'd that the Jews might erect a temple somewhere or other in Egypt, that they might meet and worship their GOD according to the religion and constitution of their country; by which means, says he, Antiochus will appear more and more contemptible to the Jews, and they will entertain a better opinion of your service, besides the vast numbers that will immediately truckle to your protection, only for the freedom to worship God according to their own religion.

This proposal pleas'd Ptolemy well enough, and so he allotted the Jews a spot of ground for their purpose, which was about one hundred and eighty furlongs distant from Memphis, in the province of Heliopolis. Onias first built a castle there; and after that erected the temple, which, tho' it could not be compar'd to that of Jerusalem, yet it had a tower that was made after the very same fashion, of large stones, and was sixty cubits high: the altar was also made after the model of that of Jerusalem,

Jerusalem, and enriched with presents and donatives as much as the other was, abating only the candlestick ; but in the room of that they had a golden-lamp, which was as bright as the sun, and it hung by a golden-chain before the altar.

This temple was surrounded with a brick-wall ; the gates were all of stone, and there was a considerable revenue belonging to it, both in monies and land, that nothing might be wanting to perfect the solemnity and the celebration of the service. Onias, 'tis true, did not perform all this out of any principle of conscience, and the simplicity of his heart, but the beginning of it was a sort of spleen he had against the Jews at Jerusalem, that had driven him away ; and by erecting this temple he thought to draw the Jews to him that had cast him off, especially upon the bottom of an ancient prophecy of about nine hundred and seventy years standing, which seem'd to favour the intrigue ; and he had also another prediction of Isaiah's, that in time to come there should be a temple erected in Egypt by a certain Jew ; and accordingly this temple was built. But to return to the history, Lupus went directly thither, and laid hands upon the oblations and presents that he found, and so shut it up ; but Paulinus, who succeeded to the government after Lupus was deceas'd, stript the temple of all that could be found, and left nothing behind him, -threatning the priests also very severely, if they should make the least concealment ; and not a man would he suffer to enter the temple upon the score of religion, but shut the doors upon them, and did not leave the least appearance of divine worship in that place. Three hundred and thirty years were spent betwixt the building and shutting up of this temple.

The boldness and insolence of the Sicarians had spread by this time like an infection all about Cyrene ; there was one Jonathan an enthusiastick weaver, that had made his escape thither ; he was a wicked fellow, and drew abundance of the people after him into desarts and woods, under a pretence of shewing them some visions, and odd kind of wonders ; and among the common sort of the people, the imposture passed current enough ; but the noise of it coming to some Jews at Cyrene, that had more sense, they tracked out the matter, and sent notice of it to Catullus, who was then governor of Pentapolitan Lybia, and he lay in wait secretly for them with horse and foot, and master'd them with little difficulty, for they were unarmed ; some of them were kill'd, and the rest taken prisoners and carried to Catullus. However, Jonathan the weaver, who was the ring-leader to this wretched multitude, after a long search, was found out and taken, and so carry'd to Catullus ; but he was so cunning to project a way how the storm might be diverted from himself, which was by accusing the richest of the Jews, and bringing them in as partners in the conspiracy. These accusations, tho' as false as could be imagined, yet Catullus catch'd
them

THE WARS OF THE JEWS.

them with pleasure; whereupon he began to inhanche the matter, that a war with the Jews was as good as proclaim'd already; and that the villany might yet appear the more execrable, he not only believed the matter, both against truth and reason, but he instructed the Sicarians to aggravate the crime, and directed a false witness to accuse a Jew, Alexander by name to whom he had been a long time a profest enemy; and his wife Berenice was also ensnared by the same evidence. These were the first that upon this occasion were executed, but after them there were to the number of three thousand put to death; and this he thought went well enough, so long as he got their money to himself, and made their estates confiscate to the emperor. Now upon an apprehension of being discover'd by some Jews of good credit, he drove on the matter yet farther, and brib'd Jonathan and some other prisoners, to make choice of such men as had most honour and reputation about Rome and Alexandria, and make some new matter of accusation; and Joseph himself, the author of this history, was one of the number. Upon this Catullus made a journey of it to Rome, bringing along with him Jonathan and the other prisoners, not doubting that the matter would be any farther search'd into, but he taken for granted, as he himself represented it; however, the contrivance would not answer, for Vespasian being something suspicious, resolv'd to have the hearing of it; and upon examination, he found the proceedings were not fair; so Joseph and his companions, at the request of Titus, were discharged, and sent off as innocent; tho' at the same time Jonathan was sentenced to be whipt, and burnt alive, which was done accordingly. With respect to Catullus, indeed, the mercy and goodness of the princes were such, that at present he was no farther prosecuted; but in a short while after he was seiz'd with an incurable company of diseases, as gripes and sharp pains all over his body, and the torment he had in his mind was yet more intolerable: He was haunted with the ghosts of those he had murdered, and had very ghastly apparitions that pass'd before him; he frequently started out of his bed, and cried out as if he had been in the extremest tortures. His inwards, in the end, began to putrify, and rotted, and came out: thus was this wicked man made an example of divine vengeance.

We are now come to the conclusion of the wars, and have shewn how the hand of God was visible in the destruction of Jerusalem, the temple, and finally of the Jews themselves.

F I N I S.



John Little

James Hunter

James

James

Hunter
his Book 14

1747

Edw. Hunt

Handwritten signature: *John C. [illegible]*

Lacoste

$$\frac{18}{100} + \frac{20}{1} = \frac{360}{100}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 100 \overline{) 360} \quad (3 \\ \underline{300} \\ 60 \\ \underline{60} \\ 0 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 100 \overline{) 720} \quad (7 \\ \underline{700} \\ 20 \end{array}$$